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THE ARMORIAL INSIGNIA OF



THE CITY OF GLASGOW.

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Wetley Notes

from

W. Maynard

Aug. 1871-





*Presented to*  
**The Magistrates and Town Council**  
*OF*  
*The City of Glasgow,*  
*BY*  
**JOHN BLACKIE, JUN.,**  
*Lord Provost.*

*First November, 1866.*



(3)

AN INQUIRY

AS TO

**The Armorial Insignia**

OF THE

CITY OF GLASGOW.



GLASGOW:

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION.

MDCCCLXVI.



GLASGOW:  
W. G. BLACKIE AND CO., PRINTERS.

*To the* HONOURABLE JOHN BLACKIE, JUN., LORD PROVOST  
OF GLASGOW.

MY DEAR LORD PROVOST,

In the following pages you have the result of the inquiry which at your request I undertook to make as to the Armorial Insignia of the City of Glasgow. I am but too sensible how little I have been able, amid the interruptions of professional engagements, to do justice to the subject; but I trust that the materials which I have been able to bring together may prove of use in settling the question at issue. Above all, I trust that others may be induced to go more fully into the investigation of the early history of the City than, from the limited nature of my subject, I felt myself entitled to do. The field is a wide and a tempting one, and I am satisfied that the early history of Glasgow has yet to be written.

I remain,

MY DEAR LORD PROVOST,

Faithfully yours,

A. MACGEORGE.

GLENARN, *3rd September*, 1866.



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#### ERRATA.

Page 61, *for* Archbishop Cameron, *read* Bishop Cameron.

Page 118, *for* counter naint, *read* counter naiant.


Page 135, *for* abribged, *read* abridged.

# INQUIRY

*As to the*

## *Armorial Insignia of Glasgow.*

---

T must appear strange that towards the end of the nineteenth century, it should remain matter for inquiry, What are the armorial bearings of the City of Glasgow? Yet so it is. At the present moment arms professing to be those of the City are represented in at least three different ways on official seals now in use, while among older examples there occur still further varieties in the blazon. Heraldry indeed, to which an almost religious attachment was avowed by our ancestors, appears to have become nearly an obsolete science among us,—not from indifference to heraldic distinction, but because it has ceased in a great measure to form a branch of study. Our civic rulers have at no time held that the maintenance of the distinctions of rank is inconsistent with civil liberty, or that loyalty to the throne, and the respect due to civic dignity, are in any way lessened by surrounding the sovereign, and the nobility, and our ancient corporations, with those insignia of rank and authority of which heraldic distinctions have at all times formed so prominent a part. We shall find, accordingly, that Glasgow

has for nearly three hundred years borne coat armour in one form or another; and in our earlier burgh records there occur repeated entries which prove that our magistrates were interested in the subject. But there has been apparently a want of knowledge, and certainly an absence of all rule or method, in our dealings with heraldic matters; while too often it appears to have been left to masons and seal engravers to represent the arms of the City in such way as their own fancy or caprice might dictate. The consequence has been, a total want of uniformity, the use of different bearings at different periods, and, as at present, the use at the same moment of different blazons totally distinct from and at variance with each other. Many circumstances have lately combined however to revive an interest among us in regard to matters of heraldry; and there can be but one opinion that the armorial insignia of our City should be extricated from the unsatisfactory position in which they are at present, even were it not necessary, which it is, in order to put ourselves right with the existing statute law on the subject.

In this utilitarian and money-making age we have got too much into the habit of looking on heraldry with a sort of good-natured contempt, but it is really a useful science. Professor Innes says of it, that "for the pursuit of family history, of topographical and territorial learning, of ecclesiology, of architecture, it is altogether indispensable." In Scotland in particular the legislature has always attached importance to it, both as regards seals and coats armorial. There are various old Scottish laws requiring and regulating the use of seals by every freeholder. Among others, in the parliament

of Robert III., held at Scone in 1400, it was ordained that "every baron or other person holding of the king shall have a seal of his own for the king's service." And in the reigns of James VI. and Charles II. the use of armorial ensigns was the special subject of legislation by Acts of Parliament which have still the force of law.

About the time of the Reformation great irregularity had come to prevail in the use of arms, and to provide a remedy the act of James VI., 1592, c. 125, was passed. It proceeds on the narrative of "the greit abuse that has bene amangis the leigis of this realme "in their bearing of armes, usurpand to thameselffis sic armes as "belangs nocht unto thame;" and power is given "to Lyoune King "of Armes and his brethir herauldis to visite the haill armes of "noblemen, baronis, and gentlemen, borne and usit within this "realme, and to distinguische and discerne thame with congruent "differences, and thaireafter to matriculat thame in thair buikis and "registeris, and to put inhibitioun to all commoun sort of people "nocht worthie be the law of armes to beir ony signes armoriallis; "that nane of thame presume or tak upoun hand to beare or use "ony armes in tyme cuming upon ony thair insicht or househald "geir, under the pane of escheating of the guidis and geir sa oft as "thay sal be fund contravenand this present act quhairever the same "armes sal be fund grawin (graven?) and paintit, to our soverane "lordis use; and lykwayis under the pane of ane hundreth pundis "to the use of the said Lyoune and his brethir herauldis. And "failzeing of payment thairof, that they be incarcerat in the nairest

"prisone, tharein to remain upon thair awin chargis during the  
"plesour of the said Lyoun."

There now exist no correct books or registers of the Lyon office of that period, nor indeed for any period previous to the year 1672, and their disappearance, if they ever existed, has not been satisfactorily accounted for. We have no records therefore of what steps, if any, were taken under this act in reference to the arms of the Scottish burghs. The probability is that nothing was done. The disorders which prevailed in Scotland gave both the people and the authorities something more important to think of than heraldry, while under the Commonwealth it was still more neglected. The spirit which prevailed after the Restoration, however, was more favourable to a science which dealt so peculiarly with the insignia and distinctions of rank, and the act of 1662, c. 53, was passed, enlarging the powers of the Lord Lyon, and ordaining "that all noblemen and gentlemen shall have their arms  
"examined and renewed be the Lord Lyon, and insert in his registers." This act was rescinded the following year, in consequence of certain dues on funerals, which it enacted, being considered "ane  
"unnecessar and heavy burding layd upon his Magesties liedges;" but such of the provisions as relate to the restraint of armorial assumption were re-enacted by the statute 1672, c. 21, which continues, along with the act 1792, to regulate the jurisdiction of the Lyon court at the present day.

Of the "visitations" of arms appointed by the act 1592 no record exists in the Lyon office, but one of these appears to have

taken place in the year 1668, and, curiously enough, the only notice of it which I can discover is to be found in our own burgh records. Certain heralds appointed by the Lord Lyon appear to have come to Glasgow in the course of their perambulations, with a view to make inquiries and to deal according to the act with those who were "usurpand arms to themselves" without authority. The magistrates, for what reason does not appear, seem to have taken up the matter on behalf of the community, and to have compounded with the heralds by a money payment. Under date 20th June, 1668, the following entry occurs in the books of the council: "The same day ordains the thesaurer to have ane warrand for the "sowme of fourtie rex dollars debursit to theis heralds and wtheris "that come here for cognoscing of armes, and that for the better "eas and eschewing of inconveniencies quhilk might fall on the "inhabitants thereanent."

In this instance, however, the system of compounding produced its natural results. Individual citizens who were bearing arms continued to do so, trusting no doubt that the Lyon had gone to sleep; but in the following year, 1669, that functionary, finding that the evil continued, and encouraged no doubt by the previous payment, renewed his claim for penalties. Again the magistrates came forward to liquidate the fines of the delinquent citizens; but this time they seem, reasonably enough, to have thought that the community at large ought not to suffer for the fault of individual transgressors, and it would appear that they had resorted to the rather singular expedient of asking from the Lord Lyon an assignation to his claim,

to enable them to operate their relief. Accordingly we find the following entry in the burgh records, under date 20th March, 1669: "The same day ordainis my Lord Lyounne to be payit of fyftie pund "steirling, in relatioune to armes used be many who ought not to "doe the samyn, and to the effect the tounne may gett relieff aff the "transgressours there is ane assignatioun and factorie to be gottin "from the said Lord Lyounne to his right; and ordaines Peter "Gemmill and James Fairie, baillies, for the tounes relief to cast "[apportion] the said fyftie punds steirling among the transgressors, "and to ward thame untill they pay their proportionable parts "thereof." The Lord Lyon and his claims were thus once more got quit of, and I find no further reference to the subject in any of the later records.

It is curious that in neither of these notices is anything said of the arms of the City itself. The payment in the one case was made "to eschew inconveniences quhilk might fall on the in-"habitants," and in the other as a fine for the unlawful use of arms by certain individual burgesses. Yet it is certain, as we shall find, that at that time the City had begun to place the town's arms on public buildings, and in all probability they were using them at the very time in other ways, although not on the common seal. The question naturally arises, therefore, Why was the City itself not made amenable to the statutory requisitions of the Lord Lyon as well as individual citizens? It is impossible now to answer that question with any degree of certainty, but it may have been for one of two reasons. It is quite possible that the right of the City to

bear arms had been recognized by the Lord Lyon, and that the arms were actually recorded in the books which are now lost. The other reason is, that the terms of the act 1592 may not have at that time been considered applicable to corporations. It was the arms of "noblemen, baronis, and gentlemen" which the Lord Lyon was authorized to visit and take cognisance of; and it was "noblemen and gentlemen" only who were required by the short-lived act of 1662 to have their arms examined and inserted in the Lyon's register. Neither did the act 1672, that which is now in force, expressly specify burghs or other corporations. It charged "all and sundry prelates, noblemen, baronis, and gentlemen, who may make use of any armes or signs armoriall, within the space of one yeir after the said publication, to bring or send ane account of what armes or signs armoriall they are accustomed to use," to be matriculated in the books and registers of the Lord Lyon. There can now be no doubt, however, that the terms of the acts 1592 and 1672 comprehend all parties, whether individuals or corporations, who bear arms, for the act ordains "that the said register shall be respected as the true and unapeallable rule of *all* armes and bearings in Scotland," and that "*whosoever* shall use any other armes any manner of way after the expiring of year and day from the date of the proclamation to be issued hereupon, shall pay one hundred punds money *toties quoties* to the Lyon, and shall likeways escheat to his Majestie all the moveable goods and geir upon which the said armes are engraven or otherwise represented." Whatever the reason was, it seems clear from the notices I have quoted, that while



individual citizens were challenged by the Lord Lyon for bearing arms without authority, and compelled to pay penalties, the City, which was certainly at that time using arms, was not interfered with.

Immediately after the passing of the act 1672 the Lord Lyon transmitted to the Convention of royal burghs a message calling attention to the requirements of the statute, and the penal consequences which would result from a refusal to matriculate. And the Convention passed a resolution expressing their conviction "that it is most convenient for avoiding of future trouble, and that it tends much to the security and preservation in all time coming of the particular coats of arms of each several burgh, that the whole burghs throughout the kingdom be registered and matriculated in the Lord Lyon's books." Each burgh accordingly is called on by the Convention to "take furth extracts of their respective coats of arms."

Several of the burghs complied with this requisition within a short time after the passing of the act. Kirkaldie, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, Montrose, Ayr, Dumbarton, Banff, Tain, Linlithgow, Pittenweem, Jedburgh, and Renfrew complied with the requisition, and appear in the Lyon's books, and the register contains the blazon of the arms of several others of these corporations since matriculated. Among others, however, which failed to comply with the Lyon's requisition was Edinburgh, and the Lord Lyon, thinking no doubt that it was too much to be set at defiance by the capital, that city, after various notices had been given in vain, was in the year 1732 served with a Lyon precept. This summons complained that the

magistrates "usurp and assume ensigns armorial to the said good "toun of Edinburgh, and cause illuminat, engrave, and otherways "represent the same upon their public places, plates, and others "belonging to the said good toun, and affix seals bearing the said "ensigns armorial to their public writings, without any warrant or "authority from me for so doing;" and there was added the usual conclusion against the magistrates for fine or imprisonment "during "my pleasure," with forfeiture of all articles "on which the arms "were represented, besides which the arms are to be razed and "pulled down, and the seals broken." The magistrates showed a disposition to resist, and lodged defences, but finding the law was against them they gave in, and their arms were matriculated—the same coat which they at present bear. There can be no doubt that it is only by the forbearance of the Lord Lyon that Glasgow has not been subjected to a similar process, for even although the City at the time of the herald's visitations in 1668 and 1669 had the right to bear arms, the right has been lost by the failure to comply with the requirements of the act of 1672, by having them matriculated. The truth is, however, that the whole matter, both in its heraldic and legal points of view, has been overlooked and neglected, and when the proper blazon of the arms has been ascertained, it will be desirable that by the voluntary action of the magistrates it should now be finally and authoritatively settled under the usual application to the Lord Lyon.

I have alluded to the great variety of forms in which the City arms have been blazoned. This at first appears very confusing, and

before a satisfactory conclusion can be arrived at on the subject, there are many circumstances, outwith the shield itself, which require to be taken into consideration, such as the connection of the city with the bishopric, the status of the community as regards civic privileges, and the mode in which the City has been affected by the various political and religious changes which have occurred in our history. When examined in this light, and when some approximation is made to the proper weight of authority attaching to the different examples of the arms, the difficulty in a great measure disappears, and I venture to think that in the result it will be found that data exist for determining pretty nearly, if not exactly, what is the particular form of arms which should be borne by the corporation.

There can be no doubt that the emblems which now appear on the City shield were adopted from the seals of the bishops and archbishops of the see, and that the devices on these seals, as in the case of Aberdeen and many other burghs, are founded on the church legends of the particular saint of the place. It may therefore be interesting, as it is not unimportant to the subject of the present inquiry, to trace the introduction of those devices, and the manner or order in which they have been from time to time represented on our ecclesiastical seals. I have referred to the stringent provision made by the legislature both as to heraldic bearings and the seals of barons and others holding *ex capite* of the crown, but there have also been special legislative enactments, particularly in England, in regard to the seals of ecclesiastics. A

statute of Edward I. enacts that every religious house shall have a common seal; and by a decree of Cardinal Otto in 1237 all the archbishops and bishops were required to bear on the margin of their seals their titles, office, and proper names. We shall see how faithfully this rule has been followed in the seals of our bishopric.

Apart from the immediate subject of inquiry, I need hardly say that the older ecclesiastical seals form a most interesting matter of study to the artist as well as to the archæologist. Mr. Dallaway, in his learned and valuable work on heraldry, well observes that "seals afford the most satisfactory information concerning the varieties and perfection of the art of engraving, and the progress of architectural ornament." Elsewhere he says:—"That the arts were not only patronized but practised by ecclesiastics is universally acknowledged, as well as the attachment of the superiors of the church to family ensigns, where they had pretensions to them. The specimens preserved evince the excellence of workmanship which they bestowed on their conventual and personal seals, and the frequent introduction of coat armour affords a satisfactory proof of the former observation." Of the truth of these remarks ample evidence will also be found in our own ecclesiastical seals. About the middle of the fifteenth century seal engraving was brought to its highest degree of perfection, and Mr. Dallaway observes that "the progress and decline of Gothic architecture are contemporary with the designs with which seals are embellished."

The earliest of the seals of the Bishops of Glasgow which has

been preserved is, I believe, that of Joceline, formerly Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Melrose. He was appointed to the see of Glasgow in 1174, and was consecrated at Clairvaux in the following year. It was by this bishop that the present Cathedral church was commenced to be built, on the site of the original church



erected by Bishop John, which had been recently destroyed by fire, and the new fabric was reconsecrated by Joceline, with two assisting bishops, in July, 1197. It was in favour of Bishop Joceline that the charter was granted by William the Lion, sometime between 1175 and 1178, which made Glasgow a burgh; and it is interesting

to notice, in passing, that in a charter granted by this prelate is found the first trace of the erection of the infant City. In this deed, which bears date circa 1180, the bishop, as lord superior, confirms to the Abbey of Melros the property of a "toft" in Glasgow, "quod Ranulfus de Hadinton edificavit in prima edificatione burghi."

It will be observed that, in common with many of the ancient seals of other bishoprics, the seal of Bishop Joceline contains no emblematical figure whatever. There is nothing but the figure of a bishop—intended no doubt to represent St. Kentigern—in the act of benediction, and holding the crosier in his left hand. The counter seal is a small antique gem, representing two birds drinking from a vase; the inscription is illegible.



Before leaving Bishop Joceline, it may be interesting to mention that it is to this liberal and accomplished prelate that we are indebted for the very curious and interesting record which we possess of the life of St. Kentigern. It was not written by himself, but by a namesake, one Joceline, a monk of the Abbey of Furness in Lancashire, whom the bishop selected for the task, and who, by the bishop's instructions, visited the localities, and sought out all the sources from which information could be obtained. From the preface to his work, which is dedicated to Bishop Joceline, we also learn that he was at pains to obtain if possible a biography of the saint of better authority than that which was then used in the

Cathedral of Glasgow, and which he condemns not only for its defective style and composition, but especially (and which is very curious in a book used in the church) because on the face of the narrative "quoddam sannæ doctrinæ, et catholicæ fidei adversum "evidentius apparet." He was rewarded by discovering another treatise, written apparently in the Gaelic language, "stilo Scotico "dictatum," containing many solecisms, he tells us, but giving a more full and complete account of the life and acts of the saint. Unfortunately, however, the honest monk found this ancient treatise, like the other, to be defiled by what he calls doctrinal error, which is as much as to tell us that it belonged to the period when the purer faith of Columba and Kentigern prevailed in Scotland.



From the materials obtained from these two treatises, but rejecting the "errors," the monk of Furness composed the life of Kentigern

which we now possess. It is very little known, for Pinkerton's work, in which it is given in the original Latin, is excessively scarce, and it has never, I believe, been translated.

Another seal of the same character is that of Florence, son of Count Florence of Holland, the hero of the crusades at Damietta, by Ada, grand-daughter of David I. of Scotland. He was elected to the see in 1202, and resigned the charge in 1207, never having been consecrated. Like that of Joceline this seal (see p. 14) contains none of the emblems. It represents a young ecclesiastic seated before a lectern, on which is a book. In his left hand he holds a palm branch, and his right hand is raised and the forefinger extended as if he were discoursing. The inscription is, "SIGILL FLORENCII GLASGUENSIS ELECTI." The counter seal is another of those beautiful antique gems which we find so often in use by the early ecclesiastics.



Florence was succeeded in the bishopric by Walter, chaplain to king William the Lion. He was elected bishop in December, 1207, and was consecrated by papal license at Glasgow in November, 1208. His position with the king enabled him to secure several privileges for his burgh, and by successive charters he obtained for the citizens freedom to trade in Argyll and Lennox, and a prohibition against the then powerful royal burgh of Rutherglen from levying toll and custom within the City. This was undoubtedly a restriction on the rights possessed by Rutherglen, for by the charter of king David the territory embraced in the rights and privileges of that burgh



extended "usque ad Kelvin," and therefore included Glasgow. It would appear, however, that their custom had been to levy toll only at the cross of "Schedenestun" (Shettleston), probably because Glasgow was too insignificant a place to make it worth while to levy toll there. But when Glasgow began to grow into a town, the



burgh of Rutherglen had proceeded to exact toll there also, and hence the charter obtained by Bishop Walter. The charter of Alexander, which is dated 29 October, 1226, accordingly bears, "Ne prepositi vel ballivi vel servientes nostri de Rutherglen tolneum "aut consuetudinem capiant in villa de Glasgu, set illa capiant ad "crucem de Schedenestun sicut illa antiquitus capi solebant." This

bishop also energetically promoted the erection of the Cathedral, then still in progress. His seal is a very fine one. It represents St. Kentigern, in profile, standing on a crescent reversed, and in the act of benediction with the crosier in his left hand. It bears the inscription, SIGILL. WALTERI : DEI. GRA. GLASGVENSIS : EPI.

But still, neither on that seal, nor on that of the next bishop, William de Bondington, the chancellor, who was consecrated in 1233, do any of the emblems appear. The seal of Bishop William indeed appears to have been copied from that of his predecessor;



the saint being represented in profile standing on a crescent reversed. This similarity, however, between the seals of different bishops is exceptional, as each of the prelates who filled the see

fashioned his seal according to his own taste; while in some instances the same bishop used different forms of seals at different times. It is proper to keep this in view, as it is characteristic of all the old ecclesiastical seals, and it is important as bearing on the question of the so-called heraldic bearings of the see. It is clear that the early seals of the Bishops of Glasgow had nothing in them of a heraldic character, apart from what they derived from the occasional introduction on them of shields bearing the family arms of the incumbent; and, for reasons to be afterwards stated, I have great doubts if at any period there were armorial bearings appropriate to the see of Glasgow, or indeed to any of the Scottish sees.

William de Bondington continued the building of the Cathedral, and in 1242 he obtained from the general council of the Scottish



church an ordinance for a national collection annually during Lent in aid of the erection. He it was also who introduced the liberties and customs of Salisbury in the future constitution of the Cathedral. The counter seal of this bishop represents St. Kentigern in pontifical vestments with the crozier in his left hand, in the act of consecrating a bishop, who is kneeling before him. Surrounding the seal are the words, ORA

PRO NOBIS BEATE KENTIGERN.

The first of the seals on which any of the emblems appear is that of William Wischard. He was of the family of Pitarrow,

and filled the office of Lord High-chancellor of Scotland. He was elected Bishop of Glasgow in 1270, and was afterwards translated to the see of St. Andrews. On this seal, which is preserved in the rich collection of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, the salmon alone appears. It is thus described by Mr. Laing:—"A pretty design of two Gothic arches: in the dexter one a bishop bestowing the benediction; in the sinister St. Kentigern with a fish in his right hand: in a niche below is a bishop kneeling at prayer. The inscription is, SECRETUM WISCHARD DEI GRA EPISCOPI GLASGUEN."

On the next seal—that of the celebrated Robert Wishard or Wyschard, formerly Archdeacon of Lothian, who was elected to the see in 1271—the bird appears in addition to the fish. This fine seal (page 20) represents St. Kentigern in pontifical vestments, standing under a rich Gothic canopy. His right hand is raised in the act of benediction, in his left he holds the crosier, and his feet rest on a lion *couchant*. On each side is the head of a saint crowned with the nimbus. Below the dexter head appears the bird, and on the sinister side is the salmon *hauriant* (in an upright position), with the ring in its mouth. Round the seal is the legend, S : ROBERTI : DEI GRATIA : EPI : GLASGUENSIS. The counter seal, which is of equal beauty, and of great interest, I shall have occasion to notice afterwards.

Wyschard was one of the most energetic and patriotic of all our Scottish bishops. Professor Innes—to whose learned and judicious researches in regard to our ancient charters and the history of our see I have been much indebted in the present inquiry—says

of him, "It was a time when strong oppression on the one side  
"made the other almost forget the laws of good faith and humanity.  
"Our bishop did homage to the suzerain, and transgressed it; he  
"swore fidelity over and over again to the king of England and as



"often broke his oath. He kept no faith with Edward. He  
"preached against him, and, when the occasion offered, he buckled  
"on his armour like a Scottish baron and fought against him. But  
"let it not be said he changed sides as fortune changed. When the  
"weak Balliol renounced his allegiance to his overlord, the bishop,  
"who knew both, must have divined to which side victory would

“incline, and yet he opposed Edward. When Wallace, almost “single-handed, set up the standard of revolt against the all-“powerful Edward, the Bishop of Glasgow immediately joined “him. When Robert Bruce, friendless and a fugitive, raised the “old war-cry of Scotland, the indomitable bishop supported him. “Bruce was proscribed by Edward, and under the anathema of the “Church. The bishop assolized him for the sacrilegious slaughter “of Comyn, and prepared the robes and royal banners for his coro-“nation.” Wyschard was taken prisoner in the Castle of Cupar, which he had held against the English in 1306, and was sent a prisoner into England, where he remained in captivity till exchanged for the Earl of Hereford in 1314, after the battle of Bannockburn.

On another seal of this prelate (page 22), less rich in design but also well executed, the tree, or rather the branch which in later times has grown into a tree, appears for the first time. The figure of St. Kentigern is represented, as before, standing on a platform, under which appears to be an inverted crescent. At the dexter side is the branch with the bird perched upon it, and on the sinister the fish with the ring in its mouth. The inscription round the seal is, S' . ROBERTI WYSHARD : DEI . GRA : EPISCOPI : GLASGVENSIS.

But although the tree, fish, and bird had thus appeared on the episcopal seal, they did not uniformly continue there. On the contrary, we shall find, among the subsequent seals, not only varieties in the arrangement of these devices, but seals on which only some of them appear, and others on which none of them occur at all. Among the latter is a beautiful seal (page 23), which, in the Glasgow

Chartulary, and also in Mr. Laing's Catalogue, is ascribed to John Wyschard, but which I am inclined to think is the seal of John Lindsay. There is some confusion in the history of the see at this time, and there is a difficulty in distinguishing between the episco-



pates of these two bishops. Professor Innes inclines to the opinion that Wyschard was elected in 1319, and that Lindsay succeeded him in 1321; but if this was so, this seal could not be that of Wyschard, for it is found appended to one of the Melrose charters which bears the date of 1326, at which time there seems to be little doubt that Lindsay filled the see. I am confirmed in the opinion

that it is Lindsay's seal, from the circumstance, that, although upon the shield on the sinister side, which no doubt contained the paternal arms of the bishop, the bearings have become too much defaced to be clearly deciphered, they are evidently the same as appear on a



shield which occupies the same position on the next seal which I shall have occasion to notice, and which in all the Chartularies is ascribed to Bishop Lindsay,—and this by the way is one of the many instances where heraldry, which many affect to despise, comes in to aid the investigations of history.

It will be observed that none of the emblems appear on this seal, but it is interesting as the first on which we find heraldry introduced. In the upper portion of the seal, under a rich canopy,



is the figure of St. Kentigern in the act of benediction, and in a niche beneath is a bishop kneeling. On the dexter side is a shield charged with what Mr. Laing describes as the royal arms of Scotland, but which are as likely to be a lion rampant debruised of a ribbon in bend, the bearings of Abernethy, which are found borne on the shields of many of the Lindsays. On the sinister side is another shield, the bearings of which are not sufficiently distinct to be ascertained, except that it appears to be charged with a bend—a bearing which I do not find to have been appropriate to the families of either Lindsay or Wyschard. Around the seal is the inscription, SIGILLUM JOHANNIS DEI GRA EPISCOPI GLASGUENSIS. The art of seal engraving was now beginning to attain a high degree of perfection, and nothing could exceed the beauty of design and delicacy of execution which this seal exhibits.

The next seal is certainly that of John de Lindsay, being his seal “for causes,” the inscription being, s’ JOHIS DEI . GRA. EPL. GLASGUEN. AD CAS. Here the fish and the bird again appear, but the branch is absent. This also is a finely executed seal, and the emblems, which are not heraldic, are again combined on it with armorial bearings. Mr. Laing describes the shield on the dexter side as “bearing ermine three bars (?);” and that on the sinister side as “bearing an orle vairé surmounted with a bend.” On both shields the devices are very indistinct,—but there is preserved a curious instrument of protest, dated 23 April, 1325, taken by Bishop Lindsay in reference to the loss and recovery of this same seal, and from which we ascertain with certainty whose one of the two shields

was. It appears from this instrument, that while the bishop was residing at his manor of the lake, *manerium de lacu* (no doubt the house at what is now called Bishop's Loch), the seal had been lost by Robert del Barkour near the chapel of St. Mary of Dumbretan, and found and restored to him by James of Irwyn, a monk of "Paselet;" and



the seal is described as containing "the form or image of the blessed  
" Bishop Kentigern, his patron, along with the shield of a noble man  
" William de Coucyaco on one side, with a fish bearing a ring in its  
" mouth above it, and his own shield on the other with a little bird  
" over it." The arms of the family of De Coucy were a barry of  
six, vairé, and gules, which quite answers to what we are able to  
discover from the impression. As for the other shield I cannot  
explain it, for, as I have already stated, none of the families of  
Lindsay, so far as I am aware, carried a bend. It is evidently,  
however, the same device as appears on the seal described imme-

diately before, and I think that both are the seals of Bishop Lindsay. If it be so, the probability is that Wyschard succeeded Lindsay in the episcopate instead of preceding him, and this hypothesis appears to be confirmed by finding in the instrument of 1325, to which I have referred, the name of John Wyssard, Archdeacon of Glasgow, among the attesting witnesses. I may add also, that Father Innes, of the Scots College, names John de Lindesay as bishop in 1319, 1322, and 1325, which is likewise against the conclusion of Professor Innes that Wyschard was bishop previous to 1321.

On a seal of William Lamberton, who was first Chancellor of Glasgow, and afterwards became Bishop of St. Andrews in 1297,



the fish and the bird appear. In the centre of the seal is St. Andrew extended on the cross. On the dexter side is the salmon with the ring in its mouth, and on the sinister side the bird and a crescent, and above a dexter hand extending downwards. At the bottom of the seal is what appears to be a lamb. The fish and bird were no doubt intended to indicate the bishop's connection with Glasgow.

On the privy seal of the Chapter of Glasgow (page 27), used in the year 1321, the bell is for the first time represented. St. Kentigern appears in pontifical vestments, in the usual attitude of benediction. At his right hand is the fish *hauriant*,

as it always appears in these early seals, and at his left hand is the bell. Mr. Laing, in describing this seal, says that there is a bird perched on the bell, but if so it is not very distinct in the impression. Round the seal is the inscription, SIGILLVM CAPITVLI GLASGVENSIS.



Another interesting seal, on which the fish, branch, and bird appear, but not the bell, is that of John Carrick, who was Chancellor of Glasgow in 1371. In the upper part of the seal is the Virgin with the infant Jesus. In the centre are three niches. The one on the dexter side contains St. Kentigern. In the middle is a figure, apparently of some saint; and on the left a female figure, which Mr. Laing calls St. Catherine.

This, however, it could hardly be, for the seal is found appended to the act of parliament settling the succession to the crown in 1371, while St. Catherine did not die till 1380, and she was not promoted to a place in the calendar till 1461. On the dexter side of the seal, outside the pillar of the Gothic canopy,



is the fish with the ring, and in the corresponding place on the sinister side is the branch, with the bird perched on it. In the lower part is a monk kneeling, and on either side of him a lion

*séjant*. The inscription round the seal is, s' JOHANNIS DE CARRIC CANCELL. ECCE. GLASG.

On the seal of Walter de Wardlaw, who was consecrated to the see in 1368, none of the emblems appear. It is thus described by Mr. Laing:—"Within a richly ornamented Gothic niche is a full-length figure of the virgin and child, and two bishops, one standing and the other kneeling. Two small niches at the sides also contain figures, and in base is a shield supported by two lions, and bearing on a fess between three mascles as many crosses." Wardlaw was previously Archdeacon of Lothian, and secretary to the king. In 1385 he was advanced by Pope Clement VII. to the dignity of cardinal, with the office of legate *a latere*.

The next seal which claims notice is that of William Lauder or de Lawedre, who was provided to the bishopric by Pope Benedict XIII., in 1408, without the election of the chapter. He had previously been Archdeacon of Lothian, and was of the ancient family of the Lauders of the Merse. The seal of this bishop, of which a representation is here given, is appended to one of the Glasgow charters which bears date 1417, and I would call attention to it not only on account of its elaborate design and the great beauty of its execution, but as another instructive example of the total absence of uniformity in the seals of the bishopric. We have seen in the previous seals repeated instances of the use of the emblems, and it might be supposed that when once introduced they would be adopted by succeeding incumbents, but here, as in the seal of Bishop Walter, they are entirely wanting. The centre of the seal

is occupied by a representation of the Trinity, and on either side is a figure kneeling in the attitude of adoration. Above this, in narrow canopied niches, are two upright figures of saints, and at each side



a shield bearing the arms of Scotland. In the centre of the lower part of the seal is the figure of a bishop within an arched recess, and at the sinister side is a shield charged with a griffin *segreant*, the paternal arms of Lauder. There was no doubt a corresponding shield on the dexter side, but that portion of the seal is broken. The inscription is, *S' WILLELMI DEI GRATIA EPISCOPI GLASGVENSIS*.

The seal of John Cameron, who was elected bishop in 1426, is of a totally different design. It represents beneath a Gothic canopy

a front bust of St. Kentigern, mitred, and crowned with the nimbus, the bust resting on a shield bearing three bars, the paternal arms of the incumbent. At each side of and encircling the shield is a fish with a ring in its mouth. Nisbet mentions this seal, but does not describe it accurately. It is appended to an indenture (preserved in the General Register House) between Joan, widow of James I., and Sir Alexander Livingston of Callander, relative to the keeping of the young king's person, dated 4 September, 1439. Cameron had been previously secretary of state and Provost of Lincluden. He built the great tower of the bishops' palace in Glasgow, and completed the chapter house begun by Bishop Lauder.

The fish reappears on the seal of Andrew Muirhead, who was elected bishop and consecrated in 1454. This is also a very fine



seal. Under a rich Gothic canopy St. Kentigern is represented in pontifical robes, with mitre and crosier. The salmon with the

ring is in his right hand, and in each of the two niches at the sides the fish with the ring is also represented. Below the saint is a shield bearing the paternal arms of Muirhead of Lauchope, of which ancient family the bishop was a cadet, viz. argent, on a bend azure three acorns or.

On the seal of John Laing, the lord-treasurer, who in 1473 succeeded Bishop Muirhead, all the emblems are again wanting. There is neither the bird, the bell, the branch, nor the fish—another illustration of the absence of uniformity and distinctive character in the seals of the see. A representation of this seal is given in another place.

But the fish again appears on the seal of Robert Blackader. First a prebendary of Glasgow, and then Bishop of Aberdeen, he became Bishop of Glasgow in 1484, and was, at the instance of James IV., promoted by the pope to the dignity of archbishop in 1491. On this very fine seal (page 32) St. Kentigern is shown habited as a monk, and holding in his hand a book; at his left hand is the fish with the ring, and below a shield bearing the arms of Blackader—a chevron charged with three roses, and above it a cross fleury. The inscription is, SIGILLVM ROBERTI ARCHIEPI: GLASGVENSIS.

The costume in which the saint is represented on this seal is very much in accordance with the account given by Jocelin, who, it will be recollected, although writing about the year 1180, had before him an ancient record dating from a period long anterior to that time. "He wore," says Jocelin, "next his skin a shirt of



“roughest haircloth, and over it a garment made of the skins  
“of goats, and a close hood like that of a fisherman. Above  
“this garment, concealed by a white albe, he always wore over his



“neck a long stole. He had a pastoral staff, not rounded, or  
“gilt, or gemmed, as is now seen with those in high places, but  
“of plain wood, yet curved (*tamen reflexam*). He carried in his  
“hand a manual (*liberum manulem*), always ready for the exercise  
“of his ministry whenever necessity or cause demanded. Thus,”  
adds his biographer, “by the whiteness of his dress he expressed  
“the purity of the inner man, and avoided vainglory.”

During the episcopate of Blackader, Mr. Innes says, “The king  
“renewed and extended the privileges and exemptions, and much

“valued jurisdiction of the bishop, with expressions that show both his attachment to Glasgow, and the commencement of that high character of its chapter which afterwards drew to the archbishop’s court of Glasgow a great proportion of civil business.”

I may observe, in passing, that the crypt under the south transept of the Cathedral has come to be called, after the name of this bishop, “Blackader’s aisle;” but apparently without any good reason, for it had another name when it was built, and that name is inscribed in plain letters on a stone over the entrance to it:—~~this is the ile~~ **of car . fergus**. We read in the life of Kentigern that there was a holy man named Fergus, dwelling in a place called Kernach, to whom it was revealed that he should not die till he had seen Saint Kentigern. He died immediately after the saint entered his house, and Kentigern having placed his body on a car, yoked to it two wild bulls, commanding them to carry it to the place ordained of the Lord. This they did meekly, and, followed by the saint and a great multitude, carried it to Glasgow, then, as the legend says, called *Cathures*, where they rested beneath certain ancient trees near a forsaken cemetery which had been hallowed by Saint Ninian of Galloway. Here the remains of the good Fergus were committed to the earth, and this was the first burial made in that place. Over, no doubt, what was supposed to be the very spot, the south transept of the Cathedral was founded, and the lower aisle or crypt dedicated to Fergus. Connected as it thus is with a legend so interesting, we ought surely to restore to this aisle its original name—that which is actually inscribed upon it.

Within the circle containing the inscription is a rude representation of the car with the body of the holy man extended on it. This incident is alluded to in the following lines of the eucharistic hymn for the festival of St. Kentigern:—

“Sævi boves subjugati  
Plaustra portent pondera.”

There is preserved another interesting seal of Bishop Blackader, and it is instructive as an example of the same bishop using



at different times seals differing from each other in design and arrangement. On this seal Kentigern appears habited as in the last example, but bearing his crozier “de simplice ligno.” The fish is on the opposite side from that on which it appears on the other seal, while above the shield bearing the bishop’s arms, instead

of a cross, there is a mitre. The Gothic ornamentation, too, is different, and the inscription is peculiar:—**ᚠ . rotūdū . roberti . epi . glasgu.**

The first of our ecclesiastical seals on which the whole of the emblems or devices are represented together is that of the Chapter of Glasgow “for causes,” which was used 1488–1540. This was the seal of the bishop’s court. St. Kentigern is here represented



holding the crosier in bend sinister. On the dexter side of the seal is the salmon with the ring; on the sinister side is the bell, with the bird perched upon it, and the branch is represented by the foliage introduced behind. The inscription on this very interesting seal is, **ᚠ . capituli glasguen . ad causas.**

The next seal I would notice is that of James Beton or Bethune, the last of the Roman Catholic archbishops. He was consecrated to the see of Glasgow at Rome in 1552, and at the Reformation in 1560 he retired to France, carrying with him the

greater portion of the ancient muniments and registers of the diocese. In 1598—having in the interval acted as the ambassador of Queen Mary at the court of France—he was restored to his bishopric, with its emoluments and dignities; but he did not return to Scotland. He died at Paris in 1603. On this very beautiful



seal the bell and bird are absent, but the fish with the ring in its mouth is represented. Beneath is a shield containing the heraldic bearings of the families of Beton and Balfour quarterly, and above it a cross fleury. The inscription is, SIGILLVM IACOBI ARCHIEPISCOPI GLASGVEN.

Before proceeding to describe the seals used by the Protestant archbishops, it may not be uninteresting to notice shortly the origin and history of the different emblems which we have thus seen represented, in one combination or another, on the ancient seals of the see. The traditions are very curious as to these emblems, or, to speak more correctly, as to the emblems and *the relic*, for the bell appearing on the seals was not an emblem, but a reality. It represented a real bell, which we know to have been in existence and use till so late as the middle of the seventeenth century.

The legend is that the bell was brought to Glasgow by St. Kentigern among certain "*sanctorum pignora et ecclesiæ ornamenta quæ ad decorem domus Dei pertinaverunt*," which this bishop had received from the hands of the pope. We find another instance recorded in the Breviary of Aberdeen of a bell which Pope Gregory the Great presented to Saint Ternan, the apostle of the Picts. These bells were held in great reverence in the ancient Church. They were baptized, and anointed *oleo chrismatis*, and there is a ritual for these ceremonies in the Roman pontifical.

Bells, indeed, were among the articles which appear to have been in some degree necessary to the episcopal character. It is so stated by the late distinguished antiquarian Dr. Petrie—than whom there can be no higher authority—and he mentions as an instance the presents given to Fiac, Bishop of Sletty, near Carlow, when St. Patrick conferred on him the episcopal dignity. The passage in the Book of Armagh, which Dr. Petrie refers to as his authority, is as follows:—"He (Patrick) conferred the degree of

"bishop upon him (Fiac), so that he was the first bishop that was "ordained among the Lagenians; and Patrick gave a box to Fiac, "containing *a bell*, and a menstir [reliquary], and a crosier, and "a poolire." The poolire was a leather case for holding sacred books and reliquaries.

St. Kentigern may possibly have received the bell at Rome, but it is as probable that it was made at home. We have unquestionable testimony, at least, that bells, such as that which we find represented on our ecclesiastical seals, were made in Ireland at a very early period. Dr. Petrie says—I quote from his admirable work on the Round Towers—"We have not only abundant historical evidence to show that many of the ecclesiastics [of the "Irish church] in those early times obtained celebrity as artificers "and makers of the sacred implements necessary for the Church, and "as illuminators of books, but we have also still remaining the most "indisputable evidences of their skill in these arts, in ancient crosiers, bells, shrines, &c., and in manuscripts not inferior in splendour to any extant in Europe." Some of these old bells are most elaborately ornamented; and in an ancient but authentic life of the celebrated artificer St. Dageus, who lived in the early part of the sixth century, as quoted by Colgan, it is stated that "he fabricated "bells, crosiers, and crosses, and that though some of these implements were without ornament, others were covered with gold, "silver, and precious stones, in an ingenious and admirable manner." Some of these bells are still preserved in Ireland, and among others, the bell of Saint Mura, of the ninth century, a representation of

which is given in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, exhibits a wonderful richness of ornamentation.

The bell appearing on the early seals of our bishops, and also, as we shall find, on one of the early seals of the community, is a quadrangular bell,—a form which indicates a very high antiquity. Dr. Petrie, in the learned work to which I have referred, gives a representation of a sculptured stone which formed the pediment of one of the oldest of the Irish churches, and on which there is a figure holding a bell of the same form as that which appears on our seals, and of which perhaps the best representation is that which occurs on the seal of the Chapter of Glasgow “for causes,”\* and which in all probability was copied from the bell of St. Mungo itself. Referring to that sculptured stone, Dr. Petrie says:—  
“The quadrangular shaped bell which appears in the hand of one of the figures, exhibits that peculiar form which characterizes all the consecrated bells which have been preserved in Ireland, as having belonged to the celebrated saints of the primitive Irish church; and there is every reason to believe that this quadrangular form gave place to the circular one now in use previous to the twelfth century. Indeed (Dr. Petrie adds) we see a remarkable example of the transition to the latter form in a bell formerly in the collection of the Dean of St. Patrick’s, and now in the Museum of the Academy, which, as an inscription in the Irish character carved upon it clearly shows, is undoubtedly of the close of the ninth century.”

\* See it at page 35.



A curious illustration of the great reverence in which consecrated bells were held, is given in the great national work of Ireland, the "Annals by the Four Masters." It is there recorded under date 1261, that in that year "Donnell O'Hara committed a depredation upon the Clann Feoraes [Mac Ioris, or Bermingham, "barons of Athenry] in revenge for their having slain Cathal O'Hara, and desecrated the church of St. Feichinn: he also killed Sefin Mac Feorais, who, while being killed, had upon his head the bell which he had taken from the church of Ballysadare." In a note to this passage, the learned editor, Dr. O'Donovan, explains, that "Sefin had on his head a blessed bell which he had taken away from the church of Ballysadare, thinking that O'Hara would not attempt to strike him while he had so sacred a helmet on his head, even though he had obtained it by robbery."

The bell of St. Kentigern was probably without any of those rich ornaments which are found on some of the contemporary Irish bells. It was held, however, in great veneration, and is more than once mentioned in the ancient offices for the festival of the saint; and in a hymn believed to be of the fifteenth century, it is referred to, along with the bird, in the following lines:—

"Romam visit septies : papa quem honorat  
Ut serviret præsuli : avi se dæcorat  
*Et campanam sustinet, que sonos dulcorat.*"

I need hardly say it was not a church bell for calling the people to worship, nor of such a size as would have made a helmet for the sacrilegious scion of the house of Bermingham. Neither is it to be

confounded with that form of bell called a *skellat*, such as was used in old time by the town-crier in Glasgow and other towns, and of which we find repeated mention in our burgh records. It was no doubt one of those small tinkling bells, called a *sacryn bell*, which were used in the altar services of the Cathedral. In size it would probably be less than that of the beautiful bell of St. Mura, already referred to, which was four inches and a half high, exclusive of the handle, and three inches broad at the bottom. That bell was made of bronze, and that of St. Mungo was probably of the same material.

These bells were used at the altar services, but they were also rung through the streets by the friars for the repose of the souls of the departed, especially of those who had been benefactors to the church; and we know that to this use St. Mungo's bell was put in Glasgow. There is preserved an indenture executed at Glasgow "the xviiiij day of the moneth of December, in the yher of our Lord "a thousand four hundreth fyftie and four yheris," between "ane "honorabyll man Johne Steuart the first provost that was in the citie "of Glasgu on the ta part, and discreyt religiouse men frieris of "Glasgu and the covent off the samyn on the tother part," by which, in consideration of certain lands and tenements conveyed by Provost Stewart, "the saydis priour covent and their successouris" undertake to say certain masses at St. Katherine's altar in the Cathedral, for the soul of the donor; "and alsua on the day of the "discesse of the said Johne Steuart yherely tyll ger Sant Mongouse "bell be rungen throw the toun for the said Johnes sawle." There

are other deeds preserved to the same effect, and among them, a "foundatioune, donatioune, and legatione," by "Schir Archibald "Crawfurd, vicar of Cadder," bearing date 28th November, 1509, which contains the following among other burdens on the property:—"Item I leif to Sanct Mongowes bell to pas throwe the "tounne one salmes day eftyre noune, and one the morne forroure "nyne, to gar praye for mye faderis saule, mye moderis saule, mye "awin saule, and all Christyne saulis, aucht peneis of annuale of the "said place, &c."

After the spoliation of the Cathedral, which took place at the Reformation, this interesting relic appears to have fallen into the hands of two of the citizens, by whom a few years later it was brought to the magistrates, who, with good taste and feeling, and apparently with a true archæological sense of its value, secured it for the community. On the 19th of November, 1577, there occurs in the records of the Council, the following highly interesting entry:—"SANCT MONGOWIS BELL—The quhilk day the provest "baillies and counsale, with dekenis, coft [purchased] fra John Mr. "sone to umquhile James Mr. and Andro Lang þe auld bell that "ged throw the tounne of auld at þe buriall of þe deid for þe soume "of ten pundis money, quhilk thai ordainit Patrick Glen thair thes- "aurare to pay to thaim, and also grantit þe said Andro to be maid "burges gratis, quhilk bell thai ordainit in all tymes to remane as "comone bell to gang for þe buriall of þe deid and to be gevin "geirlie to sic persoun as thai appoynt for anys in þe geir takand "cautioun for keping and delyviring thair of the geiris end. And

"the said Andro Lang, as son to umquhile Mr. Robert Layng, "is maid instantlie burges, as ane burges sone gratis, for þe said "caus of þe bell."

The liberal terms accorded to those who had thus preserved the bell, and the anxious provision made for its security in taking caution from the person intrusted with it for its careful preservation, shows the value attached to it, and the veneration in which it was held as a relic dating from the foundation of the city. In October of the following year, the treasurer's accounts contain a charge of two shillings, "for ane tong to St. Mongowis bell." A few years later the Presbytery claimed to have the custody of the bell, and the nomination of the party intrusted with the ringing of it, as being more within their province than that of the Magistrates; and under date 5 November, 1594, there is the following entry in the records of the Presbytery:—"Quhilk day the presbiterie declairis "the office of the ringing of the bell to the buriall of the deid to "be ecclesiasticall, and that the election of the persone to the "ringing of the said bell belongis to the kirk according to the "ancient canonis and discipline of the reformat kirk." Whether anything followed on this resolution does not appear. In 1631 the bell was still preserved, as we learn from Camerarius, in whose work, "*De Scotorum Fortudine Doctrine et Pietate*," printed in that year, it is stated that Glasgow "has for its achievement a "salmon, and also a bell which was used by the man of God "[Kentigern], and which is preserved in Glasgow at the present "day." And, so late as 1661, when Ray wrote his account of

Glasgow, it appears to have been still in existence, and used for the purpose contemplated by the Magistrates. Ray says—"Their manner of burial is when one dies the sexton or bellman goeth about the streets with *a small bell*, which he *tinkleth* all along as he goeth, and now and then he makes a stand and proclaims who is dead, and invites the people to come to the funeral at such an hour." The "skellat," used on other occasions by the bellman, could not be called a small tinkling bell, and there can be no doubt that what Ray describes was the ancient bell brought to Glasgow by Saint Kentigern—so well known to the inhabitants, and the affectionate veneration for which had survived the levelling storm of the Reformation. Subsequent to this date, unfortunately, all trace of it is lost.

The fish with the ring appearing on the seals of the bishopric refers to the story of the recovery by St. Kentigern of the lost ring of the Queen of Cadzow. The story is thus given in the office for the saint's day in the Breviary of Aberdeen:—"It happened that the Queen of Cadzow had laid herself open to the suspicion of an intrigue with a certain knight whom the king had taken with him in hunting. And the knight being asleep, the king abstracted from his scrip\* a ring which the queen had given him, and flung it into the river called Clyde (*Cludam*). Returning home he demanded the ring of the queen, threatening her with death if she did not produce it. She having sent her maid to the knight, and not receiving the ring, despatched a messenger

\* *Mercipio* in the Breviary, being Monks' Latin for *marcupio*.

“to Kentigern, telling him everything, and promising the most  
“condign penance. St. Kentigern, taking compassion on her,  
“sent one of his people to the river to angle with a hook, directing  
“him to bring alive the first fish he might take; which being done,  
“the saint took from its mouth the ring and sent it to the queen,  
“who restored it to the king, and thus saved her life.” The



whole scene is well represented on the counter-seal of Bishop  
Robert Wyschard, made about the year 1271. In the upper por-  
tion of this interesting old seal St. Kentigern is represented seated,  
to whom a monk, kneeling, presents the fish with the ring in its

mouth. In the middle compartment are two niches. On the dexter side appears the king with a drawn sword in his hand, prepared to slay his frail lady unless she shall produce the abstracted ring, and on the sinister side is the lady triumphantly presenting the missing pledge. In a niche occupying the lower part of the seal the saint is again represented kneeling on a lion couchant, and on each side are heads of saints crowned with the nimbus, similar to those on the principal seal, of which a representation has been already given. The legend round this fine and very curious example of ancient art tells, in few and pithy words, what the sculpture so well represents—*REX FURIT : HÆC PLORAT : PATET AURUM : DUM SACER. ORAT.*" The hymn appointed for the more solemn altar service of the saint's day thus sums up the story:—

" *Mæcha mœrens\* confortatur  
Regi reconciliatur  
Dum in fluctu qui jactatur  
Piscis profert annulum.*"

What has recently grown into an oak-tree, covering the greater part of our escutcheon, was at first, as we have seen, only a twig or branch. This was introduced to commemorate the frozen bough which St. Kentigern miraculously kindled into flame. The saint, then a boy, had been appointed by his master St. Servanus to

\* In the Monkish Latin of the original, "*mæcha*" is written "*mecha*," and "*mœrens*" is written "*merens*." The first would be quite unmeaning, and the latter would convey the very opposite of what it was intended to express, for the lady was anything but a "deserving" character.

maintain, in the refectory, the holy fire which had been sent to Servanus from heaven. Having fallen asleep, some of his companions, out of envy, extinguished the fire, whereupon Kentigern, when he awoke, broke off some frozen branches from a neighbouring hazel, and blowing on them in the name of the holy Trinity, they immediately burst into flame. This story forms the subject of the third lesson for the saint's-day, and is commemorated in the lines of the hymn,

"Ardent rami congelati  
Sacro flatu inflammati."

The history of the bird, like that of the bell, has a practical bearing on the subject of our inquiry, for as all the authorities concur that the charges on the shield of the city are to be represented "proper," that is, of the natural colour, it becomes necessary to ascertain what kind of a bird it was, and on this point we are not without good authority. In most of the descriptions of the arms it is called "a bird," merely. One writer calls it a raven, and in the "Additions" by Dr. Brown and others to the third edition, published in 1718, of Captain Slezer's curious and interesting work, the "Theatrum Scotiæ," it is stated that on the arms of Glasgow "there is an oak with a *red bird* upon it." This is nearer the truth, but not quite correct.

The bird was a red-breast, and it is so described in the office of St. Kentigern in the Breviary of Aberdeen. The second lesson for the day in that ancient office consists of the story, which tells how the saint miraculously restored to life "quodem avicula que



"rubesca\* dicitur." Mr. Robertson, in his preface to the *Liber Collegiæ*, says, "The bird is obviously the little favourite of St. Serf—the 'avicula quæ vulgo ob ruborem corpusculi rubesca noncupatur'—the tale of whose miraculous restoration to life by St. Kentigern fills the fifth chapter of his Acts by Jocelin." And he adds, "Long after this legend was wholly forgotten it was remembered that the bird exhibited in the arms of the city was a red-breast, as we learn from the inscription which Dr. Robert Magnus has prefixed to his epigram on the Insignia Civitatis Glasguæ:—'Salmo, quercus, cui insidet *rubecula avis*, campana, 'et annulus aureus salmonis ore exortus.'"

It appears to have been a common thing for these old saints to tame wild animals and make pets of them, as St. Serf did with his robin. We read in an ancient Life of the Irish Saint Kieran of Saigher that he had a fox, a badger, a wolf, and a fawn, who became tame and lived with him in the desert; and another Irish legend of the sixth century, contained in the Book of Ballymote, tells that St. Carnech, who was son of the king of Alban, kept a pet fawn. And many other instances might be cited of the same kind.

Before leaving St. Serf, I may mention that Kentigern is said to have buried his old master at Glasgow. Previous to 1446 there was certainly an altar dedicated to him in the Cathedral, but I find no authority for the statement that he was buried there.

But to return to the ecclesiastical seals. The seal of the court

\* Rubesca is mediæval Latin for Rubecula.

of the official of Glasgow, used in 1553, presents the emblems in quite a new combination. The head only of the bishop is depicted, shown in profile, with the salmon and ring below the head. The tree, or branch rather, and the bird, are on the dexter side, and the bell is at the base of the seal. It will be observed also that the salmon appears for the first time in fess, and with the back downward. It appears in the same position in the example given below, being the counter-seal of the Chapter of Glasgow used in 1540. And this form, I may here observe, is maintained in all the subsequent representations of the seals or arms of the archbishops wherever the salmon is represented in fess, whatever variety there may be in other respects in the mode in which the charges are marshalled. At an earlier date the salmon appears in the same position, but not on a seal. It is so represented sculptured in stone on the top of a pillar in the chapter-house of the Cathedral (page 50, No. 1), not as part of the arms of the bishopric, however, but under the paternal arms of Bishop Cameron, by whom that part of the Cathedral was built. He was of the family of Lochiel, and the arms here represented are those borne by the chief of that family, viz. argent, three bars gules. The date



of this sculpture must be about 1440. And so late as 1566 the same arrangement of the fish occurs on the counter-seal of Arch-



bishop Beton, which is described by Mr. Laing as "a shield quarterly, at the sides "the initials I B; above the shield a "cross *bottonnée*, and beneath it the fish "and ring."

The latest seal of the chapter of Glasgow is on a silver stamp now in the archives of the University, and from an inscription it appears to have been the gift "generosissimi viri domini Gulielmi "Anderson, præpositi Glasguensis." That person was provost in



1664-70. This is the first ecclesiastical seal on which the different emblems appear combined together—still, however, not in heraldic form. The seal, which evinces a very low state of art, represents a

building like a church, in the doorway of which is the tree, with the bell and fish, and no doubt the bird also, though from the impression it is difficult to make it out. The bell is suspended from the tree on the dexter side, and the salmon is at the base with its back downwards. This combination, I have no doubt, was adopted not from the seals of any of the bishops—for none of the bishops, so far as I can discover, had previously used them in that form—but from the arms of the City, which, a considerable time before this, had adopted that form of blazon as its armorial bearings. I shall return to this, however. I would merely observe before leaving the present example, that there is in it nothing of a heraldic character.

The first of the archbishops after the Reformation of whose seal I have found an example, was James Boyd of Trochrigg, who filled the see from 1573 to 1581, and who made a splendid bequest of books



as well as a liberal money contribution to our University. The annexed figure represents the first seal used by that prelate, and

which I found appended to a charter in the archives of our Corporation. It is purely heraldic, but it does not contain any bearings appropriate to the see. On the contrary, the seal is entirely occupied by a shield bearing a fess chequé of *four tracts* with the addition of an open book above the shield. In the circle is the inscription, SIGILLVM IACOBI BOYD ARCHIEPISCOPI GLAS. All the families of Boyd that I am aware of—and who, as Nisbet says, are “Stewarts by blood “and Boyds by surname”—bear the fess chequé of *three tracts* of the former family. The four tracts I have not seen on any other shield of the Stewarts or Boyds.



The above-mentioned seal of Archbishop Boyd is appended to a

charter dated 13 July, 1579. But as if to mark the total want of uniformity in these episcopal seals, and the absence of any fixed heraldic character, so far as the see was concerned, we find the same bishop within two years afterwards using another seal of a totally different design and character. This seal (page 52) is appended to a charter dated 5 June, 1581. The figures of the saint and the salmon are again introduced, and below is a shield charged with the archbishop's paternal arms—azure, a fess chequé, argent, and gules, and in base a cross moline, or. These are not the arms of Trochrigg, but of Boyd of Pinkell or Pinkhill, the father of the archbishop. Here the fess consists of the usual three tracts. The inscription is the same as on the smaller seal.

The successor of Archbishop Boyd was William Erskine, who was appointed to the see in 1585, but was not ordained. He was only titular bishop. The seal of this prelate is also destitute of any heraldic character so far as the diocese is concerned. According to Mr. Laing's description—for I have not seen the seal—it must have partaken very much of the character of the earlier seals of the bishopric. St. Kentigern is represented in pontifical vestments holding the fish in his right hand and in his left a crozier, while in the lower part of the seal is a shield charged with the archbishop's family arms—argent, on a pale sable a buckle, and above the shield a cross bottonnée. The counter-seal is a shield with the arms of Erskine as above, and *beneath the shield* the fish and ring, and at the sides the initials V E.

But in the seal of Archbishop Law, who was translated from

the see of Orkney to Glasgow in 1615, the emblems are again wanting, and it contains no bearings appropriate to the see. It is described by Mr. Laing as representing merely "a shield bearing a bend sinister between a mullet in the dexter chief and a cock in the sinister base, with a scroll ornament at the top and sides of the shield, and the inscription, S'. JACOBI ARCHI EPISCOPI GLASGUEN."

The next seal of which I find notice is that of Andrew Fairfowl, who became archbishop in 1661. This seal, as described in Mr. Laing's Catalogue, is of rather an extraordinary design—"A crozier and a cross in saltire surmounted by a figure of a monk vested in a singular habit, which is also surmounted with a tree, amid the branches of which is a shield bearing three fowls, the arms of Fairfowl. *Across the trunk of the tree is a fish.*" The tree with the fish in this position are here again just a portion of the arms as then borne by the City. In the seal of the chapter in 1664 the fish appears *under the stem*. That was the position in which, as we shall find, it had, previously to that date, been borne by the Corporation. In this seal of Archbishop Fairfowl it is represented *across the stem*, being the form which had, by that time, been adopted by the City, and which had been for some time in use before the incumbency of that prelate. It would thus appear that while the early seals of the Corporation were unquestionably copied from those of the bishops, the ecclesiastical seals of later times were, in those instances where the emblems are represented, taken from the bearings of the City. From whatever source the arrangement was derived, however, it will

be observed that in this, as in the previous seals of the see, there is nothing heraldic except the arms of the incumbent.

The first example in which the emblematical figures, previously used merely as devices on the ecclesiastical seals, appear in a strictly heraldic form, is the seal of Alexander Cairncross, who became archbishop in 1684. Here, it will be observed, the emblems appear on a shield impaled with the paternal arms of the archbishop, who was



of the ancient family of Cairncross of Balnashanan, with the head of a bishop above the shield—not as a crest, for there is no wreath, but in the place which a crest would occupy. In the inner circle is the motto, PRO DEO, GREGE, ET ECCLESIA SACRA; and in the outer circle the inscription, SIGILLVM . ALEXANDRI . CAIRNCROC . ARCHIEPISCOPI . GLASGVENSIS.

Nisbet says, " The archiepiscopal see of the Church of Glasgow



“has for arms a tree growing out of a mount vert, with a bell hanging  
“on a branch, and a salmon, lying fess ways athwart the trunk of the  
“tree, with a ring in its mouth, proper. Alexander Cairncross, by  
“divine providence Archbishop of Glasgow, had on his seal of office  
“the above blazon impaled on the right, with his paternal coat on the  
“left, viz. argent a stag’s head erased with a cross pattée fitchée  
“between his attire gules.” And he gives, in one of the plates in his  
*Essay on Armories*, a representation of the shield as thus blazoned—  
there being no bird in the plate, as there is none in the description.  
But these are certainly not the arms as appearing on the seal, of which  
a copy is given above, for not only does the bird appear in the latter,  
but the bell is detached from the tree, and the fish is not athwart the  
trunk, but under the stem, according to the older form. If Nisbet,  
therefore, correctly describes a seal which he saw—which may be  
inferred from his giving a drawing of it—then Archbishop Cairncross  
must have changed his seal, affording in this another example of the  
total want of uniformity to which I have already referred.

Be that as it may, Nisbet would have been more correct had he  
merely called the seal which he describes the personal seal of Arch-  
bishop Cairncross, instead of calling it, as he does, the seal of the  
archiepiscopal see. I can find indeed no ground for believing that  
Cairncross intended what he impales on the dexter side of his shield  
to represent the arms of the see at all. We have seen that each of  
the prelates who preceded him fashioned his official seal according to  
his own fancy, and that although heraldry was often introduced it was  
always confined to the paternal arms of the incumbent. In not a

single instance before this do any insignia or devices peculiar to the see appear in a heraldic form. So in the present instance it appears to have been nothing more than the fancy of Archbishop Cairncross to represent his own arms impaled—not with arms peculiar to the see, for none such existed, but with the arms then in use by the community of Glasgow, in order thus to set forth his connection with the City. It would have been obviously improper to describe the seal used by any previous bishop as *the seal of the bishopric*, seeing that every successive incumbent used a seal different in design from that of his predecessor. So it would be equally incorrect to infer that either what Nisbet describes, or what appears on the shield figured above, were the armorial bearings of the see of Glasgow merely because they were used by Cairncross in that single instance.

Any doubt on this point must be removed by a reference to the seal of John Paterson, the successor of Cairncross, of which a representation is subjoined. He was consecrated in 1687, and was the last of the archbishops. He also, like his predecessor, impaled with his paternal coat bearings indicative of his connection with the City, but in doing so he discarded the blazon used by Cairncross, and adopted a new and totally different arrangement both as regards the bearings and the motto. In the first place, it will be observed, he entirely reversed the positions of the bird, bell, and fish. The robin, magnified into the dimensions of a goose, is turned with its head to the sinister side. The salmon is turned in the same direction, and the bell is shifted from the sinister to the dexter

side; while there is added, on a chief, the head of a bishop. On the sinister side of the shield are the paternal arms of Paterson, viz. three pelicans in their piety, and on a chief three mullets. Above the shield is a mitre, and the motto, PRO REGE ET GREGE, and below, on a scroll, CONSTANT AND TRUE. On the outer circle is the inscription, SIG . JOHAN . PATERSON . ARCHIEPISCOPI . GLASGVENSIS . 1687. Of



course the new design impaled on the dexter side, differing as it did from everything which preceded it, could no more be called the arms of the archbishopric than the other and different blazon used by Archbishop Cairncross. In both instances it was nothing more than the device which each prelate chose to adopt in combination with his own arms, and it remained personal to himself.

On inquiry at the Lyon office I am informed that "the armorial

"bearings of Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and those of most "of the other prelates, were recorded in the Lyon Register soon "after 1672—the arms of the see impaling the paternal coat." I am satisfied, however, that what are here called "the arms of the see" are not so, but merely what we have seen to have been the case in Glasgow—the arbitrary devices which the incumbents for the time being had chosen to impale with their paternal coats. That such was the case, at all events, in regard to the see of St. Andrews there cannot be a doubt. Nisbet says, "The arms of the episcopal see of "St. Andrews are, azure St. Andrew carrying on his breast his "proper cross, argent, and on that saltire he is *sometimes represented* "expanded." It is surely rather a loose kind of heraldry which describes the armorial bearings of a particular see to be sometimes one thing and sometimes another. Such as it is, however, Nisbet's blazon is not what appears in the Lyon books at all. The arms there impaled with Archbishop Sharp's paternal coat are, "Azure a "St. Andrew's cross argent." And as if to show that this was not intended to represent the arms of the see, but only what Sharp himself thought proper to bear as his personal arms during his episcopate, it is added (in the Lyon Register) that "*the seal of the see* is azure, "the image of St. Andrew vested and placed within the porch of a "church, proper, having his cross of martyrdom on his breast." And what puts the matter beyond doubt is the fact that the *official seal* used by Archbishop Sharp is totally different both from Nisbet's blazon and from that recorded in the Lyon books. It is thus described by Mr. Laing: "A figure of a bishop in pontifical vest-

“ments standing under a canopy supported by slender columns, “having a crozier in his right hand, and in his left the cross of St. “Andrew. In the lower compartment of the seal is a shield of an “oval form bearing a fess between two cross crosslets fitchée, in “chief, and a mullet in base, the paternal arms of Sharp.” It is clear enough therefore that what appears in the Lyon Register is merely the armorial bearings of Archbishop Sharp himself, not the arms of the see of St. Andrews, and I believe the same will be found to be the case in regard to the recorded arms of all the other bishops in Scotland.



I may add that in the Cathedral of Glasgow there are still to be found a number of sculptures representing the paternal coats of the

earlier bishops and archbishops, all represented by themselves, and never in combination with armorial bearings appropriate to the see. In repeated instances, no doubt, the salmon is found in combination with these sculptured arms, but it always so appears not on the shield, or as forming part of the bearings, but outside of the shield altogether. Sometimes it is below, as in the case of the arms of Bishop Blackader (azure on a chevron argent three roses gules), a very fine sculpture of which will be found on the basement of the rood-screen, where the salmon, with the ring in its mouth, appears on its back, and bent round the base of the shield (page 60.) I have already given another example from the chapter-house, where, at the top of the centre pillar, the paternal arms of Archbishop Cameron, by whom that portion of the Cathedral was erected, are sculptured on a shield with the salmon below it. And there is another example mentioned in the appendix to Nisbet's *Heraldry*, where we are told that Bishop Muirhead in 1471 "founded near to the precincts of his pontifical palace at "Glasgow an hospital which he dedicated to the honour of St. "Nicholas. The place where the divine service was, is of fine aisler "work of a Gothic form, and the windows supported by a buttress "betwixt each of them; upon the front over the door is the bishop's "arms *surmounted by the salmon fish* and a crozier or pastoral staff "behind the shield. Opposite to the hospital he built and devoted "a house or manse for the priest or preceptor, on which there is still "[1742] to be seen the bishop's arms, the crozier behind the shield, "with the three acorns on the bend." The chapel of the hospital here mentioned remained entire till so late as 1808, when it was

pulled down. There is an excellent view of it in Mr. Stewart's work, in which the arms over the doorway are distinctly shown. Here, as in the instances already given, the salmon appears to have been represented not as part of the armorial bearings, but outside of the shield, and in combination not with arms professing to be those of the see, but with the family arms of the bishop.

In the "Essay on the Ancient and Modern Uses of Heraldry," Nisbet says, "On the buildings of churches we find only the paternal arms of bishops and abbots sometimes ornamented with mitres and croziers, as those of Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, being three cushions within a double tressure counter flowered for his arms, and on the wall that surrounds the castle of Glasgow are on several places the arms of James Beton quartered with Balfour, and *below* these arms is a salmon with a ring in its mouth." And he adds, "By all the inquiry I can make I find none of our Romish prelates ever marshalled the figures of their respective sees (I mean the images of their patron saints, their crosses, or such remarkable things belonging to them) with their paternal bearings by impaling or quartering them on one shield, though they have adorned the outer sides of their shields with mitres, crosses, keys, and pastoral staves." This is certainly true as to the prelates who filled the see of Glasgow before the Reformation, and for the reasons I have stated there appears to be no ground for supposing that after that event any other practice prevailed in so far as regards what could be called arms of the see.

The conclusion then at which I have arrived, though I ought to

state it with reserve, as it is contrary to the hitherto received opinion, and contrary to an authority so respectable as Nisbet, is, that there never have been armorial bearings appropriate to the see of Glasgow. That, on the contrary, each of the bishops or archbishops constructed his official seal according to his own taste, and that to this practice the seals of Archbishops Cairncross and Paterson form no exception. Paterson, who was a son of the Bishop of Ross, was appointed to Glasgow in 1687, and continued but a short time in the see—the Revolution of the following year having put an end to Episcopacy in Scotland.

Having thus endeavoured to trace the devices borne on the seals of the bishops and archbishops, I shall now proceed to notice what devices or armorial bearings have been used by the community. On this subject the episcopal seals throw little light as regards the purely heraldic part of the question, but they are of high value as furnishing us with the source from which have been derived the bearings which now appear upon our escutcheon, and as enabling us in some instances to determine in what order those bearings should be marshalled. The earlier seals of the community, like those of the see, were not heraldic, but, unlike those of the bishops, the devices on the early seals came to be used as charges on our coat armour. The difficulty is to ascertain at what period they came to be so used; and what is the proper order or combination in which they ought now to be represented.

In this inquiry it is important to bear in mind that until a comparatively recent period the Corporation of Glasgow had no indepen-



dent existence. The magistrates, whatever were their functions, were the mere nominees and instruments of their lords paramount the bishops. Gibson in his history of Glasgow has gone far wrong on this subject. He says that so early as the year 1268 Glasgow was governed by "provosts, aldermen or wardens, and bailies, who seem "to have been independent of the bishop, and were possessed of "a common seal distinct from the one made use of by the bishop and "chapter;" and in this Gibson has been followed by other writers. It is true that at that early period the community had a seal, but in other respects there is no foundation whatever for the statement. Gibson cites as his authority the terms of a particular grant of property within the town contained in a charter by one Robert de Mithyngby, which he says was executed in the year 1268, or according to the Glasgow Chartulary in the year 1280. On referring to this charter I find the officiating notary attesting that he has made and given seisin of the lands conveyed "coram præpositis et ballivis de Glasgu et xii burgen-sibus et aliis ejusdem civitatis"—the writ concluding with an attestation that besides the notary's own seal "sigillum commune de Glasgu "huic scripto est appensum." This proves certainly that the community had at the date of the charter a seal, but it proves nothing more. It does not prove that the town was governed by a provost and magistrates independent of the bishop. It does not even prove that there was a provost at all. The statement is that seisin was given—not "coram *præposito* et ballivis," but "coram *præpositis* et "ballivis," terms which appear to have been at that time synonymous, and to indicate nothing more than officers intrusted by the bishop

with the management of the civil affairs of his burgh, and who acted, I have no doubt, under his instructions.

That I am right in supposing that the terms "præpositis et ballivis" did not mean a provost and bailies, is put beyond doubt by the terms of another ancient writ bearing date a very few years later than the one cited by Gibson. I refer to an instrument dated in 1293, or as it bears "apud Glasgu die martis in crastino festi exaltationis sancte crucis anno gracie M<sup>o</sup> CC<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo tertio"—and which, by the way, is otherwise curious as a record of seisin being given in open court, in presence of the magistrates and an assize of twelve burgesses, without the intervention of a notary. This interesting old document bears that there were assembled "Oliverus et Ricardus, præpositi, *et cæteri præpositi* ac cives Glasguensis, congregati in placitis burghi." From this it is evident I think that the words "præpositi" and "ballivi" had the same signification—that, in short, they merely indicate a body of magistrates; and there is abundant evidence from other sources, that as they were the nominees, so they were the mere instruments, of the bishop, and amenable to his authority. The seal of the community was appended to this instrument, as it was to the one cited by Gibson, but it is not unimportant to observe that that seal was not held sufficient to attest the document. It required also the attestation of the ecclesiastical seal, and accordingly there are added the words, "Et ad maiorem rei gesti securitatem sigillum officialitis Glasguensis eidem est appensum," and this appending of the seal of the bishop in all writings of importance continues in the later charters.

I would just add on this subject, and as proof that there was no provost in those days, that a transumpt by the magistrates of Glasgow in 1322, of a charter by Gilaspec Maclachlan, dated from his castle on Loch Fyne, commences in these terms: "Noverint universi quos nosse fuerit oportunum quod *nos ballivi ceterique burgenses* de com-munitate civitatis Glasguensis vidimus," &c. The word "præpositus" does not occur at all. Indeed, there was no provost in Glasgow till the middle of the fifteenth century—the first who filled that office being John Steuart, to whom reference has been already made in connection with St. Mungo's bell.

There has been much misunderstanding in regard to the early history and constitution of the City. We find M'Ure complacently telling how Glasgow was created a royal burgh by a charter from king William the Lion. The same statement is repeated by such respectable local historians as Gibson and Brown, and later still by Dr. Clelland. And I may add, that in a recent inaugural address delivered by one of the most accomplished among those who have shed lustre on the rectorial chair, it is stated that "when the university "was founded in 1450, Glasgow had already, for nearly three centuries, "possessed the privileges of a royal burgh." It may be interesting, therefore, as it is not foreign to the subject of the present inquiry, to examine into this matter a little further—to inquire what was the actual condition of the burgh at that early period, and what degree of liberty the inhabitants or burgesses enjoyed. The result, I think, will show how little ground there is for the assertion that Glasgow possessed at that time—if not actually coat armour, at least an

independent civic existence, and an independent seal, and how very improbable it was in the circumstances that such should be the case.

The truth is that Glasgow was at first a mere bishop's burgh—a constitution which, while it increased the power and importance of the bishop, implied no real independence on the part of the inhabitants of "his burgh." It is a mistake to suppose, as some have done, that they shared the privileges and advantages of the royal burghs, or possessed anything of the independence of "king's freemen." The object of the sovereign in creating the royal burghs, was to raise up a class of freemen between himself and his powerful barons, of whom, therefore, the burgesses were to be entirely independent. It was the essential peculiarity of their position, that they held not of any subject superior, but directly of the king himself, and under the obligation of doing service to the king only. One of the old burgh laws was that "na man may be the kyngis burges bot gif he may do service to the king of als mekyl as fallys til ane rude of land at the leste," and he was also required first of all to swear to be faithful and true "to the king his bailies and communitie of that burgh in the quhilk he is made burges." Having thus qualified himself, the "king's burges" became a free man, and owed allegiance to no subject-superior whatever. But such was, by no means, the position or status of the inhabitant of a burgh of barony. It was not the object, as it could not possibly be the policy, of the Bishop of Glasgow, in acquiring right "to have a burgh at Glasgow," to give freedom to his vassals, or to render them in any respect independent of his powers and jurisdiction over them. What he desired, and what he obtained by

the grant, was to secure for his infant city the protective privileges of a market, so as to induce dealers to come and trade there, and also to acquire for his vassals those rights of burgal trade which were so essential to his own prosperity. But this was all. The inhabitants remained, after the town became a burgh as before it, the mere "homines episcopi, nativi, et servi." They continued to hold of the bishop, and to be subject to his power as their feudal lord. They acquired the advantages of fairs and markets, no doubt, and protection in going from and returning to the city, "in eundo et redeundo," when engaged in trading; but, as between them and the bishop, their overlord, the relations which previously subsisted remained unchanged.

We find accordingly that all the early charters, beginning with that by which Glasgow became a burgh, were granted—not like those of the royal burghs, in favour of the inhabitants—but in favour of the bishop. The charter of William the Lion, in 1175, to which M'Ure and our other local historians refer with so much pride, so far from conferring on Glasgow the status or independence of a royal burgh, bears that the king had "granted, and by this my charter confirmed "to God and St. Kentigern, and Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, and "all his successors for ever, *that they* shall have a burgh at Glasgow, "with a weekly market," &c.

In the same way, William by another charter in 1190 gave, granted, and confirmed, "to God and St. Kentigern, *to the church of "Glasgow, and Joceline, the bishop of that place,* and to all his "successors for ever, a fair to be kept at Glasgow, and to be held "every year for ever, from the 8th of the apostles Peter and Paul, "for the space of eight days complete, with my full protection," &c.

Again, in 1235, Alexander II. granted a charter of exemption from toll. This was sixty years after the date of the grant which made Glasgow a burgh, yet the exemption is not in favour of the citizens or burgesses, as such. It is in favour of "William, Bishop of Glasgow, our chancellor;" and the terms of it are, that he, the bishop, "*et successores sui episcopi Glasg. et eorum homines nativi et servi quieti sint de tolneo*"—expressions which at that time implied nothing but vassalage if not bondage on the part of the inhabitants.

In a precept by James II., in 1449, addressed to the royal burghs of Renfrew and Rutherglen, and which the Bishop of Glasgow had obtained in order to check certain alleged encroachments by these domineering corporations on the bishop's territory and jurisdiction in the matter of fairs and markets, the narrative bears, that complaint had been made—not by the citizens, for they had no say or voice in the matter—but "by Wylgam Bischop of Glasgu, that ge mak "distrublans and impediment tyll our leiges and communities of "burgh and land that bryng ony guds to the mercat of Glasgu, to "sell or by, *doing tharthrow hurtyng and prejudice to the priveleges "and custom granted to the kyrk of Glasgu* of auld tym." The refractory burghs are accordingly prohibited from making such "dis-trublans," and that "nan of yhou said burrows na nan utheris cum "*within the barony of Glasgu*, na within ony lands pertenant to Sant Mungos fredom, to tak tol or custom," &c.; and they are further prohibited "to mak ony minwsing, prejudice, or lattyng *to the fredom "and kyrk of Glasgu*, or the mercat of it." In this precept, it will be

observed, Glasgow is not called a burgh at all, but merely "the barony of Glasgow."

In like manner the charter of James II., of 20th April, 1450, which raised the City from the rank of a burgh of barony to that of a burgh of regality, was in reality nothing more than an increase of power and dignity to the bishop. This charter, which is granted in favour of Bishop Turnbull, the founder of the University, bears that "we for the honour and praise of Almighty God, and the glorious Virgin Mary, and the blessed Kentigern Confessor, patron of the church of Glasgow, wherein we are esteemed a canon, and of all the saints, and for the singular favour, zeal, and affection which we bear to the reverend father in Christ, William, bishop of the said church, our well-beloved counsellor, and for his good deeds and faithful services done to us for time past, to have given and granted, and by this our charter confirmed, to the said reverend father in Christ, William, Bishop of Glasgow, and his successors, bishops of the church of Glasgow, to be for ever held, possessed, and enjoyed by them in all time coming, the City of Glasgow, Barony of Glasgow, and lands commonly called Bishop Forest, in pure and mere regality, to be holden and held the said City, Barony, and lands called Bishop Forest, by the said William and his successors, bishops of the church of Glasgow, of us and our successors, in free, pure, and mere regality, in fee and heritage for ever." The reddendo is "a red rose upon the feast of the nativity of the blessed John the Baptist at Glasgow, in name of blanch farm if asked only, and the assistance of their prayers."

In all this there is clearly no recognition of the inhabitants as a separate or independent community. The whole power over the temporalities of the City, and of the lands embraced in the charter, remained centred in the bishop, with all the rights of a feudal lord over the inhabitants as his vassals. The charter contains a provision giving power to the bishop to appoint a sergeant for executing the edicts of his court, who was to have a silver staff or mace, having the royal arms blazoned on the upper end, and those of the bishop on the lower. Of the arms of the City no mention is made. The community indeed is not mentioned or recognized in the charter at all, nor is any privilege or freedom conferred on the citizens. The bishop, in whom alone any power was vested, appears after this to have appointed a provost and bailies to manage the affairs of his City, and the status of the inhabitants, no doubt, came in time to be of a higher grade than the *nativi* and *servi* with whom they are classed in the charter of Alexander II. They bought, and sold, and traded, and some of them held houses and lands, and they must have possessed many privileges which were not shared by the landward inhabitants "ututh the burgh." But the privileges of the royal burghs they certainly did not possess; and as the provost and magistrates were the mere creatures of the bishop, and were, by the terms of the charters, to be nominated by him, and might be removed by him at his pleasure, the entire power and control in everything relating to the affairs of the community centred in his person, and he "did what he liked with his own."

Even when the town had to vindicate its rights at law, the



process proceeded in name of the bishop as the principal party. Thus so late as the parliament of 1469, a decree is recorded "in the actioun and caus persuat *be a reverend fader in Criste, Andro Bischop of Glasgu*, and the provost, bailies, and communitie of his *Cite* of Glasgu, against the provost, bailies, and communitie of the burgh of Dumbartane." The complaint was, that the burgh of Dumbarton "has wrangit and injured the said reverend fader, and the said provost, baillies, and communitie of Glasgu, in the stopping of them in the bying of certane wyne fra Pevis Copate, Fransch man, out of his schip in the water of Clide." The decree, it is satisfactory to know, was in favour "of the said reverend fader, provost, and bailies," who got their wine—no doubt good claret, such as that of which we are now returning to the more general use of former times.

A few years later—namely, in 1470—we find a charter by James III., in favour of the then Bishop of Glasgow, John Laing, afterwards lord high-chancellor, by which, *inter alia*, there is confirmed to the bishop full power "to constitute and appoint provost, bailies, sergeants, and other officers, within the said City, for the management and government of the same, as often as to him shall seem expedient, and to appoint and remove to and from these offices such persons as he shall think proper."

In favour of the inhabitants as a separate or independent community there is to be found no grant. There are, at different times, provisions protecting them in attendance at fairs and in trading, but these privileges were obtained on the application of

the bishop, and as a boon to himself in order to promote the prosperity of "his burgh." The inhabitants continued to be mere "bishop's burgesses," dependent on the bishop, and subject to his rights as their superior.

It is not easy for us, who live in the light and liberty of the nineteenth century, to form an adequate idea of the degraded state of the great bulk of the inhabitants of Scotland in these early times. Professor Innes, writing of the district around Melrose in the thirteenth century (and that district was not by any means exceptional), says: "The original inhabitants had either removed "to districts not yet coveted by the southern colonists, or were "reduced to the condition of serfs, then appropriately termed *nativi*, "who were transferred by sale or gift along with the soil which "they cultivated." In the *LIBER DE MELROS* is a charter, dated towards the end of the thirteenth century, in which John de Vescy conveys and confirms to the abbey certain lands, and along with them assigns the "*bondos cum nativis, sequelis et catallis eorum*—"dum." There is another charter, granted in the year 1280 by one Andrew Fraser, by which he conveys to the abbey of Kelso two crofts occupied by Adam of the Hog and John the son of Lethe, together with "Adam of the Hog himself my native, with all his "following;" the charter containing a clause of warrandice of "the "said lands, meadows, *men*, and pastures." And, to come nearer home, we find a charter of king William (circa 1180), by which he conveys to Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow, one Gilmachoi de Conglud, "*with his children and all his descendants.*" Among the mass of the

common people, indeed, there was at that time no real personal liberty. With the exception of the "king's burgesses," every man was under one lord or another to whom he owed allegiance. There is a law of king David, which provides that "gif ony man "be funden in the kyngis land *that has na propir lord*, he sal haf "the space of xv dayes to get hym a lord. And gif that he wythin "the said term fyndes na lord, the kyngis justice sal tak of hym to "the kyngis oise viii ky, *and kepe his body to the kyngis behuffe quhil "he get him a lord.*"

It appears almost incredible, but it is the case, that among certain classes this state of slavery continued to exist in Scotland down to our own day. Such was the condition of every person employed in a colliery or a salt-work, including women as well as men. These, by the mere operation of law, and without any paction, by merely entering on the employment, became the property of the owner, and bound to perpetual servitude in that particular work. The master could not sell him off the land to another; but if the owner sold or alienated the ground on which the work stood, the collier or salter passed over to the purchaser as *fundo annexum*, and if he made his escape the master could follow him and bring him back, exercising this power, to use the words of our great institutional writer, Erskine, in virtue of his "*right of property in the deserter.*" This state of matters continued to a period within the memory of many still living. It was not till the year 1799 that it was finally put an end to, by the act of 39 George III., which declared colliers to be "free from their servitude."

I do not know what exact amount of liberty the "bishop's men" of Glasgow enjoyed in the early period of their history, for the subject is involved in considerable obscurity. I do not, of course, suppose that they were by any means in so enslaved a condition as the rural part of the population, who are called in the ancient burgh laws "churles," "thrylls," and "uplands men," as well as "natives" and "serfes." Perhaps, as was the case at one time in the English burghs, the "masters" of certain crafts enjoyed greater privileges than others; but it is certain, as I have already said, that the inhabitants generally did not enjoy the rights and immunities peculiar to royal burghs, and out of the royal burghs there was at that time no real liberty. In the case of all mere burghs of barony, the property of the community continued as truly a part and parcel of the barony as if it were the property of a single vassal. The bishop was, accordingly, the feudal as well as the spiritual lord of the community, and of every individual composing it. Although, therefore, they could go and come in trading, it is doubtful if, as vassals of the bishop, they could permanently leave the district without the bishop's permission. One of the *Leges Quatuor Burgorum* provides that it shall be "lachful and lefull till ilk burges to geyff or sell his "lande the quhilk he has gotten of purchas or of conquest *in the* "kyngis burgh to quham sa evyr hym likis, *and may frelie pass and* "gang quhar he wyl;" a privilege which, limited as it is to the royal burghs, would seem to imply that, at that early time, no other, neither the "homo episcopi" nor any one else, could leave the territory where he was settled, and "gang quhar he wyl," without

his lord's permission. Even in the royal burghs personal freedom was not enjoyed by every class of the traders and burgesses. We find an example of this in the case of the wool-combers, in regard to whom it is provided that "gif ony kemistaris levis the burgh to "dwell with uplandys men, having sufficient work to occupie thaim "within burgh, thai aw to be takyn and prisonyt." If such was the case with the king's freeman, we may conceive what must have been the powers of the bishop over those *homines ejus, nativi, et servi*, of whom he was the feudal lord.

The king's burgess, again, had the right of battle, *potest habere duellum*, with the burgess of an earl, baron, or churchman; but the latter was denied that privilege against the king's burgess. The royal burghs from the outset enjoyed complete self-government. The magistrates were appointed "thruich the counsale of the guid "men of the toun," but in Glasgow they were named by the bishop, and could be removed by him at his pleasure. In Glasgow there were no "freemen burgesses," and no gildry or convenery, these being the two incorporated classes into which burgesses of royal burghs alone were divided. Again, no citizen of Glasgow could, in the time of these laws, have an oven, this being a privilege confined by stringent enactment to "the king's burgess." Such were some of the ancient burgh laws of Scotland, and there were many others in which the freedom which the "*burgenses domini regis*" enjoyed stands out in striking contrast with the state of dependence and vassalage of the "*burgensis abbatis, prioris, comitis, et baronis*." In process of time, no doubt, many of the privileges and immunities of

the royal burghs came to be extended in practice to the burghs of barony and regality; but the change must have been very gradual, and it is probable that for a long time none but the royal burghs enjoyed the benefit of those *leges burgorum* which placed them so far above the burghs which held only of subject-superiors.

I need hardly say that the community of Glasgow was not represented in the early parliaments of Scotland, as the royal burghs were. It was not till the parliament of queen Mary, held in August, 1546, on the very eve of the Reformation, that Glasgow first appears among the "commissarii burgorum" who sat as part of the third estate, and it is only after that period that I find the City mentioned in any state document along with the other burghs. The first example of this which I have noticed is in the act of Mary, 1555, where it is declared that "the haill burrowis of the west cuntrie, sic as Irwin, Air, Dumbertane, *Glasgow*, and uther burrowis at the west parts," shall be free from the exactions which "certane cuntrie men adjacent and dwelland besyde Loch fyne" had been enforcing "on every last of maid hering that are tane in the said loch." It is somewhat curious that the first time in which Glasgow found mention as a burgh in an act of parliament should be on the occasion of its contending for freedom of trade in salt herrings.

Down to that time, or rather till after 1560, Glasgow, as a city, had not even the outward appearance of independence. If a seal of cause was to be granted incorporating one of the trades, it could only be done by consent and with the concurrence of the bishop,

and the fees payable for the "upsett" of a freeman, with the fines for infringement of the rules of the society, were to be applied for the benefit, not of the craft itself, or even of the community, as in the royal burghs, but of the church. Thus the charter in 1516, in favour of "the kirkmasters and the laife of the maisters of the "skinner craft and furrier craft" of Glasgow, is granted by the magistrates "with the consent, approbatioune, and ratificatioune of "our maist reverend fadir in God, James, Archbishop in Glasgow, "Chancellor of Scotland, and Commendatour of the abbey of "Kilwinning." The fees for the "upsett" are to be applied "to the "reparatioune and upholding of divine service at our said altar." One of the penalties is "ane pund candle of wax thairfor als oft as "the fault happens;" and "ilk maister haulding buith within the "said burgh and citie, of the said craft, shall pay his wouklie pennie "to the reparatioune of the adornments of the said altar, and to "susteine the priests; and that nae falss stuff be sauld to the kings "leidges, under the paine of ane halfe pund candle of wax to the "altar;" while power is given "to poynd and distrenzie, gif need be, "for the takeing, raising, and inbringing of their dhewes foresaid to "the sustentatioune and uphalding of God's fabric foresaid." The deed concludes thus:—"In witness of the quhilk thing to thir "presents we have appendit our commoun seall. And in the mair "verificatioune of the said maist reverend fadirs consent, his round "seal is appendit *in the first thing before ours*, at the Citie of "Glasg<sup>w</sup>. the twentie eight day of May, 1516 yeirs."

In like manner the seal of cause in favour of the cordiners, dated

more than forty years later (1558), bears to be granted by the magistrates "with y<sup>e</sup> consent, assent, approbatioune, and ratificatioune of me maist reverend fadir, James, by the mercie of God "Archbishop of Glasgow;" and "the reverend fadir, oure lord and "prelat, in verificatioune of his consent and approbatioune," appends his seal before that of the community.

If, again, a provost had to be elected, he was nominated by the bishop; and when bailies fell to be appointed, the provost and council proceeded to the castle and presented to the bishop a list, from which he chose any two names he thought proper, and these were elected to the vacant offices. There is preserved a curious instrument under the hand of John Hamilton, notary, bearing date 3d October, 1553, in which one of these transactions is solemnly recited. The writ bears how "an honourable man, Andrew Hamilton, of "Cochnay, provost, and all the rest of the council of the said City," came into "the inner flower garden, near the palace in Glasgow," of "the most reverend father in Christ, James, by divine mercie Arch-bishop of Glasgow," "having in their possession a certain schedule "of paper in which the names of some of the most respectable and "substantial men of the said City were inserted, which they reached "out, desiring the most reverend father that he would admit two "of them to be consuls or bailies for the ensuing year, . . . "out of which the said most reverend elected two, by pointing out "the names of these on the schedule, to be proclaimed by the said "provost and council;" which being done, the instrument bears that "the provost and council promised faithfully to the most reverend"



to elect the parties named, "by saying these words, We will satisfy the desire of your lordship, and having so said, they repaired to the town-hall."

On the flight of the last Roman Catholic archbishop in 1560, there was no one to nominate the magistrates as formerly, and the expedient resorted to in these circumstances is recorded in a notarial instrument, which bears date September, 1561. In this document, the notary declares that search had been made for the archbishop in order to the election of magistrates, and not being found, he protests that the council there, who had been nominated by his lordship, may themselves elect, which they accordingly did.

But this was but an isolated act of independence, as the Protestant archbishops, or the feudal lords who obtained grants of the temporalities, continued to nominate the provost and bailies and to interfere as before, and this, there is every reason to believe, in a manner much more oppressive than their Roman Catholic predecessors. The Reformation, too, was followed by anything like a state of tranquillity, and for some time after that event the community had other matters to think of than heraldic honours. The constant troubles, civil and ecclesiastical, which followed the arrival of Mary, and which, with invasions from England and civil wars within Scotland—some of the latter, such as that of 1570, unexampled in exasperation and atrocity; the efforts made by the Romish party to recover their ascendancy; and then the obstinate and determined struggle which took place between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism,—all these kept the kingdom in a continued

state of agitation, and distracted men's minds from all but the stern realities and exigencies of the moment. Glasgow, too, was in a state of transition, and though steadily advancing in importance, it was as yet but of insignificant extent. So late as 1556 it held only the eleventh place of rank among the towns of Scotland, and at that time the population did not exceed 4500, considerably less than what the population of Helensburgh was five years ago.

Not till 1636 did Glasgow take its place among the royal burghs, under the charter of Charles I. granted in that year. Yet even this did not bring independence. Certain rights were still reserved, and the archbishop not only claimed but exercised the right to appoint the provost and magistrates, under the charters granted by James VI. and Charles I. Under date 3d October, 1637, our burgh records contain the following entry:—"The quhilk day  
"comperit Mr. Robert Stewart, servitor to ane reverend fathir in  
"God, Patrick, Archbishope of Glasgow, and producit ane missive  
"letter direct from the said archbishope, desyring the said baillies  
"and counsall to receive James Stewart of Floack, merchand burgess  
"of the said brught, provest of the same, to the first Tuesday after  
"Michaelmas nixtocum, in anno 1638 yeirs; the quhilk desyre they  
"thocht reasonable, and thairfoir the said bailies and counsall sent for  
"the said James, quha cam and acceptit the said office in and upown  
"him, efter their admission of him thairto, and gave his oathe *de*  
"*fideli administratione* thairintil; and thairefter the said provest  
"nominatt and sett down the lyttis for the baillies, and being vottit

“be pluralitie of vottis, the persouns following were put on lytt, to  
“be presentit to the said archbishope, that he might nominat thrie  
“of thame to be baillies for ane yeir to cum.” And then follows the  
list of names, and subsequently their presentation to and nomination  
by the archbishop.

When the power of nomination fell from the hands of the  
archbishop, it was taken up and exercised by a temporal baron. In  
1641 Glasgow was erected, upon a royal signature, confirmed by  
the parliament of that year, into a temporal lordship in favour of  
the Duke of Lennox, one of the nearest collateral male heirs of  
James VI. By this act there is ratified and confirmed to the duke  
“the lands and barony of Glasgow, castel, citie, and regality thereof,  
“with the right of nomination of the bailies and magistrates of the  
“said burgh.”

Probably in the earlier history of the City, the rule of the bishops  
sat lightly on the community, and the absence of civic privileges  
would be less felt in presence of the substantial advantages derived  
from the residence among them of the bishop and his clergy. The  
rule of the church was notoriously more benignant than that of the  
feudal barons, and the saying, “better under the crozier than under  
“the lance,” was applicable to the vassals of all the spiritual lords.  
The see of Glasgow formed no exception to this state of matters.  
It was one of the most opulent in the kingdom. Its prelates lived  
in a style of great splendour, and exercised a powerful influence, not  
only locally, but on the affairs of the kingdom. Their court was  
the resort at all times of influential members of the aristocracy, and

they but followed the practice of the other dignitaries of the church in dispensing a liberal and generous hospitality; while the residence of the thirty-two rectors, first enforced by the princely Bishop Cameron, who required each of them to build a manse near the Cathedral, added to the importance and wealth of the City. To all this is to be added, the great influx of suitors to the bishop's court, attracted by the high character and reputation of the chapter, and the large amount of civil business which resulted from the extension of the privileges and civil jurisdiction of the bishop granted by James IV. The temporal advantages which would necessarily result to the community from this state of matters must have been great, and more than sufficient to reconcile them to the absence of those civic privileges which were enjoyed by their less favoured but domineering neighbours of Rutherglen and Dumbarton. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Glasgow was by no means forward at first in promoting that great movement which resulted in the reformation of religion and the subsequent abjuration of Episcopacy. It was no doubt under the influence of such sentiments that, after the long vacancy in the see caused by the flight of Beton, we find the citizens taking the part of even so notorious a character as Montgomery, the nominee or "tulchan bishop" of the Duke d'Aubigné, when the question concerned the re-settlement of a resident archbishop. We read in Calderwood how, in 1582, the Laird of Minto the provost, with one of the bailies, and a number of the citizens, invaded the Presbytery House, and because the presbytery, then sitting in judgment, with a view to the deposition

of Montgomery, refused to stay proceedings, they "put violent hands on the moderator, Mr. John Howsone, smote him on the face, pulled him by the beard, knocked out one of his teeth, and put him in the tolbooth."

The effect of the Reformation was at first, indeed, very injurious to the prosperity of Glasgow; and it is curious to find that the change from the palmy days when so many ecclesiastics were "in residence" seems to have been felt most severely by the inhabitants who lived in the upper part of the town, those who lived towards the foot of the High Street and about the Cross finding a compensation in the pursuits of trade, from which their fellow-citizens higher up the street appear to have been debarred. In the year 1587 there was presented to parliament a supplication "be the fremen and vtheris induellaris of the citie of Glasgw abone the gray frier wynde," setting forth, "that q<sup>r</sup>. that p<sup>t</sup>. of the said citie that afoir the reformatioun of the religioun wes intertenyt and uphaldin be the resort of the bischop, parsonis, vicaris, and vtheris of clergie, for the tyme, is now becum ruinous, and for the maist part alto-gidder decayit, and the heritouris and possessouris thereof greitly depauperit, wanting the moyane to vphald the samen." It is then set forth that this state of matters might be greatly remedied were "the grite confusion and multitude of mercattis togidder in ane place about the croce" to be divided, and some of them appointed to be holden in the upper portion of the City; and they feelingly put it that "as thai ar ane pairt of the bodie and memberis, subject to the payment of taxt stent, watcheing, warding, and all uther precable charges,

“even sa al the commodities of the said cietie suld be commoun  
“to thame all.” As a crowning reason why the supplication should  
be granted, it is set forth that “that part of the said cietie abone the  
“said gray frier wynde *is the onlie ornament and decorationn thereof*,  
“be ressonne of the grite and sumptuous buildingis of grite antiquitie,  
“varie propir and meit for the ressait of his hienes and nobilitie  
“at sic tymes as thai sall repair thereto: And that it wer to be  
“lamentit to sie sic gorgeous policie to decay.” The parliament  
ordered the matter to be looked into, but it does not appear that the  
petitioners succeeded in getting any of the “mercattis” moved above  
the wynd.

It soon came to be understood, however, that in whatever  
way matters were to be mended, this was not to be attained  
by the maintenance of Episcopacy. The splendid court of the  
Roman Catholic archbishops, and the advantages derived from the  
wealthy resident clergy, had become things of the past. The  
Protestant archbishops, who were in most cases the mere nominees  
of the party in power, were poor, and their status had become  
contemptible. The archbishop, indeed, was nothing more than the  
*locum tenens* of a non-resident baron, who held the temporalities,  
and who exacted everything he could wring out of them, caring  
nothing for the interests of the community when his own were in  
question. The archbishop himself, too, enjoying but a miserable  
pittance out of the once princely revenues of the see, was tempted,  
perhaps obliged, to exercise what power was left to him, and to  
enforce his exactions in a manner very different from what had

prevailed in former times. Under this state of "tyranny and "avarice," as the magistrates soon after had occasion to describe it, Glasgow, which by means of the extension of trade had been growing in importance and prosperity, appears to have declined considerably.\* The community, also, under the more general diffusion of liberty and expansion of thought which was now beginning to prevail, must have felt more keenly the inferiority of their status to that of their smaller neighbours, who enjoyed the full privileges of royal burghs, while their subjection to the archbishops and to the temporal lords, in the nomination of their provost and magistrates, as well as in other matters relating to the City, must have become intolerably irksome. We are prepared, therefore, to find the community taking a prominent part in those events which resulted in the Revolution. We know that they took an active share in promoting the cause of the Prince of Orange; and as they were among the first of the burghs to congratulate the prince and the queen on their accession, so the services which the City had rendered towards bringing about that event were early recognized by the new sovereigns. By royal charter, dated 4th January, 1690, the City was declared free; and in the "humble and thankful address" which the "provost, bailiffs, "town council, and other citizens," presented in the following month, the feelings of the community, on the contrast between the past and present state of matters, found energetic expression. "As

\* The population, which, at the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, amounted to 14,600, had in 1688 declined to 11,900. No doubt the great fire of 1677 in part accounted for this.

“your Citie of Glasgow,” the address bears, “hath shared in the  
“common benefit, so hath she tasted of your royal bounty and  
“favour, in particular, by giving your high commissioner a special  
“instruction for our freedom by act of parliament. And now by  
“your royal grant, given at Kingsintown, the 4th of Januar last,  
“wherein your Majestie is graciously pleased to notice and putt  
“ane value upon the zeall for the Protestant religion and loyal  
“affections of your Citie of Glasgow, and to give to her a full  
“right and libertie for electing her own magistrates in all tyme  
“comeing, als frielie as the royal borrowes of this your majesties  
“ancient kingdom, by which being emancipated from the slaverie  
“of ane imposed magistracie (the instruments of our bishops their  
“tyrannie and avarice), the public interest of this once flourishing  
“corporation being thereby recovered, we are delivered from the  
“fears and secured from the dangers of a future relapse into what  
“has been the source of our past miserie.” This address was  
presented on the 1st of February, 1690, and by the act of William  
and Mary of that year, the City and Town Council acquired for  
the first time the “power and privilege to choose their own magis-  
“trates, provost, bailies, and other officers within the burgh, als  
“fully and als freely as the city of Edinburgh or any other royal  
“burgh within the kingdom enjoys the same.” Then, but not till  
then, may Glasgow be said to have acquired an independent political  
existence.\*

\* It may not be uninteresting to notice, in passing, that one of the favours bestowed on Glasgow at the Revolution was the appointment by royal warrant of one of the citizens,



In the state of matters which I have thus imperfectly attempted to trace, it is not likely that Glasgow—at all events down to a period subsequent to the Reformation—should be found possessed of independent armorial bearings. It could not, however, have been long after that event that the community began to turn their attention to the distinction to be acquired from heraldic honours. We shall find that towards the beginning of the seventeenth century armorial insignia professing to represent the arms of the City began to be displayed on public buildings; but I can find no evidence that previous to the Reformation, or indeed for thirty years after it, did Glasgow possess or use coat armour.

In support of the opposite opinion, reference has been made to the seals attached to the early charters, because on these seals are represented certain figures or devices, which are assumed to be armorial, and because in the charters to which the seals are appended they are called “sigillum comune de Glasgu.” I shall notice these seals more particularly afterwards in connection with the other seals used in later times by the corporation. At present I shall only say of them, that although they are certainly of the highest interest as early seals of the burgh, they are still only seals, not coats of arms

“William MacLean, son of Charles MacLean, merchant in Glasgow, our sole *Magister Ludorum*, commonly called Master of the Revels, in our kingdom of Scotland.” This curious document is dated 2d February, 1690. The office fell into dissuetude, I think, in the reign of George I., but for a long time previously it existed, and in the books of the Lord Lyon are to be found the armorial insignia appropriate to the Magister Ludorum, viz. “Argent, a lady rysing of a cloude in y<sup>e</sup> nombrill point, ritchlie apparelled; on her head a garland of ivye, holding in her right hand a ponziard crowned, in y<sup>e</sup> left a vizard proper, standing under a vale or canopie azur, garnished or, in base a thistle vert.”

at all, and the figures on them are not heraldic "charges," but mere devices, adapted from the seals of the Bishops of Glasgow, the overlords of the City, and so adapted, there can be little doubt, in conformity to a practice, of which there are many examples, by which the vassal burgesses attested their allegiance to the bishop and acknowledged his supremacy. That a community constituted as Glasgow was, should, notwithstanding their state of dependence, have a seal to attest such acts of civic administration as the bishop chose to intrust them with, was likely enough, and we know that in point of fact they had such seals. But that these should be founded on either as evidence that "the town was governed by "provosts, aldermen or wardens, and bailies, independent of the "bishop," as Gibson asserts, or as exhibiting the distinctive heraldic insignia of the corporation, is opposed alike to the probabilities and to the known facts of the case.

I have already said that the devices found on ancient seals, while they unquestionably supply, to a large extent, the materials for heraldry, are not in themselves heraldic, or to be confounded with armorial bearings. Seals bearing all manner of devices have existed from the earliest historic periods—for more than a thousand years indeed before heraldry or coat armour was heard of. When armorial bearings came into use, the devices on the shields were in many, perhaps in most cases, taken from seals previously used by the families bearing them. But this was not always the case. Mr. Seton, in his treatise on the law and practice of heraldry, says:—"Several of the earliest Scottish seals exhibit figures which were

"not ultimately adopted as the armorial ensigns of the families  
"with which they are associated, when heraldry was placed on a  
"systematic basis. Thus on the seals of William Wallace (1160),  
"Adam Home (1165), Patrick Ridel (1170), Duncan, Earl of  
"Carrick (1180), and Robert Pollock (1200), we find an eagle, a  
"mullet, a lion, a dragon, and a boar respectively—totally different  
"charges having been afterwards borne as the heraldic ensigns  
"of these families."

Arms were not known in Scotland till towards the end of the twelfth century, in the reign of William the Lion. On a seal appended to an ancient original grant, preserved in the Scottish College at Paris, the date of which is between 1180 and 1189, there is represented a lion rampant. The deed is a grant by Willielmus de Sumervilla to the see of Glasgow, of the church of "Carnweid" (Carnwath), and this I believe is the earliest known example of the use of armorial bearings in Scotland. In England they were certainly unknown till towards the end of the twelfth century, and it was not till some time afterwards that they came into general use even among the nobility.

When arms did come to be adopted, they remained, as a general rule, unchanged; while, on the contrary, as we have seen, the devices on seals, particularly those used by ecclesiastics and other officials, were changed from time to time, according to the taste or caprice of the individual in office. Such I have shown was the case in regard to the seals of the Bishops of Glasgow, and a reference to Mr. Laing's Catalogue of the seals of the other

bishoprics and ecclesiastical bodies will show that Glasgow formed no exception to the rule.

The writer of a small work published in London in 1682, called "*Scotiæ Indiculum, or the Present State of Scotland*,"—falling into the common error of confounding the seals of the bishops with armorial bearings, says:—"The coat armour belonging to the see of Glasgow is argent St. Ninian, standing full faced, proper, clothed with a pontifical robe purple, on his head a mitre, and in his dexter hand a crozier, or." But this is just the description of an early ecclesiastical seal, common to many bishoprics, and is not coat armour at all.

In many cases, as we have seen, after the introduction of arms, the heraldic shield containing the personal arms of the incumbent occupies a portion of the non-heraldic seal of the diocese. Instances of this occur on several of the seals of which I have already given representations, and I may add here two others as further illustrating the same fact. The first is that of the well-known Cardinal Beton or Bethune, bishop elect of Galloway, who was postulated to the see of Glasgow in 1508 and was consecrated in the following year. He was made chancellor of the kingdom in 1515, and was translated to the see of St. Andrews in 1523, where his murder of Wishart was so soon after followed by his own violent death. On the upper part of the shield of this proud prelate is St. Kentigern, habited as a monk with a book in his hand, and on the sinister side the fish, nearly as large as the saint himself, and with a ring capacious enough to go round the waist

of the Queen of Cadzow. In the back-ground is a floreated branch. In all this there is of course nothing heraldic, but below



is a shield charged with the bishop's own arms:—first and fourth a fess between three lozenges for Beton, second and third a chevron charged with an otter's head for Balfour. Above the shield is a cross bottonnée.

The other seal is that of Gavin Dunbar, who, on the promotion of Beton, was elected Archbishop of Glasgow, and consecrated at Edinburgh in 1525. He became chancellor in 1528, and died in 1547. Mr. Innes says of him, "His character and "the transactions of his life are matter of history. If he has

“been roughly handled by Knox, his greatest admirer could not wish for him a more elegant panegyric than that of Buchanan.”



In this seal the saint has resumed his mitre and crozier and is crowned with the nimbus, and the salmon, in diminished proportions, is transferred to his dexter side. In other respects the design is of the usual character of the seals of the bishops. In the lower part of it is a shield with the archbishop's paternal arms. He was of the family of Mochrum, descended from Randolph, Earl of Murray, and the arms are those of that noble family—or, three cushions within a double tressure flory and counter flory gules, with a mullet for difference.

But just as the bishops and archbishops, while their own coats of arms remained unchanged, varied the form of the seals of their diocese, so apparently did the community of Glasgow, which in those early times had no coat armour, vary from time to time the form of their seals, which would not have been the case had the seal been intended to represent armorial insignia. It is important to keep this in mind for the purpose of the present inquiry. The seal attached to the charter of 1325 is the oldest seal of the community of which an impression has been preserved, but we shall find that there were at least two seals of an earlier date of which accurate descriptions have been preserved. The second of these differed in design from the first, and both were different from the seal of 1325; while there have been several changes since, each new seal differing in design from all that had gone before it, and this not in trifling points, but in the whole arrangement of the charges or devices—matters which in heraldry are reckoned *inter essentialia*.

These changes of the common seal, however, would not have been inconsistent with the community adopting fixed armorial bearings, or bearings totally different from the devices on the seal. We have seen that this was frequently done by the bishops, who added to the devices on their seals, which were not heraldic, shields containing their paternal coat armour; and examples of the same kind may also be found on the seals of some of the royal burghs. The old seal of Brechin, for example, contained a representation of the Trinity—the Father supporting the Son extended on a

cross, and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descending on the Son. This was also the device on the seals of most of the Bishops



of Brechin. When the burgh adopted armorial bearings, the seal with its ancient device was retained, but the shield containing the arms of the community was added below, viz. or, three piles in point, gules—just as several of the Bishops of Brechin placed in the same place on the seal of the bishopric a shield containing their own paternal arms.

Another interesting example of heraldic bearings on the seal of a burgh, occurs in the old seal of the burgh of Renfrew. The device on the seal is a galley with the sails furled. On the dexter side is the sun, and on the sinister side the moon, and on the deck of the galley are two cross crosslets. No part of all this is heraldic, but on the dexter side of the mast is a shield containing



the royal arms of Scotland, and on the sinister side, another shield bearing the fess checqué, which formed the paternal bearings of



the sovereign. This arrangement is the same in character as that which occurs in some of the examples I have given of the seals of the old Bishops of Glasgow, where, on the non-heraldic seal, there are exhibited in the flanks shields containing the personal coat armour of the bishops.

The community of Glasgow, however, never adopted this course. We shall find them continuing the use of their ancient seal after they had adopted arms for the City, and had begun to represent them on a shield in heraldic form on various public buildings—the arms so adopted being totally different from the devices on the seal. When at last arms did come to be represented heraldically on the common seal, they engrossed the entire space—the

previous arrangement being then abandoned, and only such of the previous devices retained as were to form (but in a different combination) part of the charges on the shield.

How soon after the Reformation, the magistrates adopted a fixed and definite coat of arms, it is not easy to say. Indeed, the changes which have been so often made, and the great variety of forms in which we find represented what profess to be the arms of the City, would rather suggest a doubt whether the City has, even to this day, adopted any fixed armorial bearings. I believe, however, that there do exist materials, sanctioned by authority, and confirmed by practice, for enabling us to determine what are, or at least what ought to be, the arms of the City, and to which the confirmation and sanction of the Lord Lyon ought now to be obtained, so as to settle the matter authoritatively, and put an end to those constantly recurring changes which have been hitherto so little to our credit.

In this inquiry I have referred to all the sources of information open to me, and I shall now proceed to notice in order the different examples of the City arms which I have been able to find, although, it is possible, there may be others which have escaped me. I shall commence with the seals of the community—the ancient examples of which, though not heraldic, contain, like almost all old seals, the materials from which our heraldry has been made up. At the same time, I must premise, that while we naturally look to the seals of corporations as among the most important sources of information in regard to their heraldic bearings, it so

happens, that in the case of Glasgow, our common seals, from their total want of uniformity, afford perhaps the least reliable of all the data which we possess on the subject.

Glasgow, as we have seen, was erected into a bishop's burgh in the year 1174, and the seal appended to the charter of Robert de



Mithyngby in 1280, or, according to Gibson, in 1268, was probably the first seal used by the community. It has not been figured in any of the books, as the charter has been lost; but we have a description of it by father Innes, whose accuracy in this and other similar cases may be relied on, as he had before him the originals of the charters which he describes. His note appended to the manuscript of this charter is as follows:—"Huic carta  
"appensa erant duo sigilla quorum unum [that of Mithyngby, the

"granter of the deed] amissum est: alterum, sigillum commune "Glasguense, remanet fere integrum, ex cera alba, exhibens caput "episcopi cum mitra, scilicet S. Kentigerni." The seal, I have no doubt, therefore, was very much such as I have represented it above.

This, then, is the earliest known seal used by the community of Glasgow. It is of the simplest form, and it is curious to notice that it contains neither the bell, nor any of the emblems which, on the later seals, commemorate the miracles of St. Kentigern. This, it may be recollected, was likewise the case with the seals of the earliest of the bishops. These contained nothing but the figure of a prelate in the act of benediction. Such were the seals of Bishop Florence in 1200, of Walter in 1208, and of William de Bondington in 1233. The first seal of a bishop on which any of the emblems appear, was that of Robert Wischart, who was preferred to the see in 1272—subsequent to the date of Mithyngby's charter, if Gibson's date (1268) is correct, and at all events, subsequent in all probability to the date when the seal attached to that charter was made.

The use of this, the first seal of the community, appears to have been discontinued sometime previous to 1293, as in that year there is a charter to which was appended a seal of a different design. This charter has also been lost, but it was in existence in the time of father Innes, who had it in his hands, and who has fortunately, as in the case of the older charter, left a description of the seal of the community which was attached to it. I have

mentioned that Wischart was the first of the bishops who departed from the simplicity of the earlier seals of the see, by adding some of the emblems to the figure of St. Kentigern. This was about the year 1272; and it is interesting to observe, that in the new seal adopted by the community, and which was appended to the charter of 1293, a similar course is followed by adding the bell to the head of the saint, which had appeared alone on their



first seal. The description of this seal by father Innes is as follows: "Huic carta appensa erant duo sigilla, quorum primum "scilicet sigillum communitatis Glasguensis exhibet superius caput "episcopi et inferius tintinabulum: alterum vero amissum est." The restoration which I have attempted in the above sketch represents probably very nearly what the seal was.

The circumstance that in this alteration from the first seal the bell only is introduced, and not any of the emblems of the miracles,

may be accounted for by the fact that the bell was a tangible reality known to the citizens. It was used in the services of the Cathedral, and was rung through the streets for the repose of the souls of departed benefactors to the church; and being a relic thus familiar to the community, and held by them in high veneration, it would naturally suggest itself as an appropriate addition to the head of the saint who had brought it to Glasgow.

But when, after 1272, Wischart introduced the bird and the fish on his seal, and when subsequently, on another seal, the same prelate, in 1291, added the branch, so it might be expected that the community should (in this as in more important matters following their bishop) be also found introducing on their seals the emblems of the miracles. And such we find was the case. The second seal—that bearing the bishop's head and the bell—was abandoned in or sometime before the year 1325, as a writ bearing that date is preserved, to which is appended a seal of the community of a new and entirely different form. The head of the saint is retained, but the bell is placed in a different position, and there is added the salmon with the ring in its mouth, with the branch and the bird perched on it. It is difficult to tell from this or any of the other impressions I have seen of this seal what it is that the bird is sitting on—whether a flower, or fruit such as a hazel-nut or an acorn. It is probably intended for a flower, and on referring to the representation of the seal of John Carrick, who was Chancellor of Glasgow in 1371,\* and which was contemporaneous with this

\* Page 27.

common seal of the burgh, the branch will be found in it represented very much in the same form, and bearing what is evidently a flower, on which the bird is sitting.



This seal continued for a long time in use. The representation of it given above is that which is figured in the *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, in which the document to which it is appended is printed—being the return, or certificate, of a service and infestment of one Thomas de Aula. It is addressed to the Abbot of Melrose, and bears date 8th October, 1325. But I have found in our own City several impressions of the same seal (attached to charters and *Seals of Cause*) in more perfect condition. There is one in the archives of the community appended to a charter, dated 4th January, 1445, granted by Mariota Brand, Robert de

Narne, and others, in favour of "David de Cadygow, precentor "de Glasgu," of a tenement "in vico que vulgariter nuncupatur "Drygate—extend. ad torrentem de Melindoner." In the same collection is another charter granted by Duncan Flemyng of Cowglen, in 1457, to which the same seal is appended. Nearly a hundred years after that date, I find it appended to a charter by the magistrates in favour of the corporation of masons in 1551. It attests a Seal of Cause in favour of the cordiners in 1558. The same corporation possess another charter, dated in 1569, to which it is also appended. In 1600 it appears attesting the Seal of Cause by the magistrates in favour of the corporation of wrights. I have seen an excellent impression of it appended to a deed of agreement among the incorporated trades of Glasgow, for the support of St. Nicholas' Hospital, with a ratification by the provost and magistrates, executed in 1605; and there is also a still better impression attached to a deed relating to the same hospital, granted by the magistrates in 1606. I subjoin a copy of the last-mentioned impression, because it supplies what is wanting in the Melrose seal—It gives the whole of the legend, SIGILLVM COMVNE DE GLAGV., and it shows the tongue of the bell, which in the impression of 1325 had become obliterated. I have not seen any impression subsequent to 1606, but I am satisfied, for reasons to be presently given, that the same seal continued to be used down to the year 1647. Even assuming, then, that it was not made earlier than 1325, the date of the first document to which it has been found appended, the same seal must have



been in use for the long period of three hundred and twenty-two years. I have examined carefully the impressions attached to the



deeds of 1445, 1457, and 1606, with the intermediate impressions, and, comparing them with the seal of 1325, as figured in the Melros Chartulary, I find the correspondence so minute, as to leave no doubt that they were all impressed by the same die. This is a long time for a seal to have been in use, but it must be recollected, that in these early times it would be used very seldom compared with the number of impressions taken from the seals of a later period.

In the deeds of 1605 and 1606, relating to St. Nicholas' Hospital, this old seal is called "the great seal of the said burgh." This would imply that there was another and a smaller

seal, and that such was the case appears from an entry in the council records, under date 25th January, 1647, in the following terms:—"Anent the wrytting of passes, ordains the same to pass "under *the little seall*, and to be subscrivit be the clerk." Of this little seal, however, I have not been able to find any trace.

Before leaving this old seal of 1325, it may be interesting to notice in it the peculiar spelling of the name of the City. The legend is "sigillum comune de GLAGV." It might be thought that this was a mere error in the artist who cut the seal, and that the S was omitted by mistake; but I am satisfied it was not so. The same spelling occurs in documents under the hand of the accomplished and patriotic prelate, Robert Wyschard, written while he was a prisoner in England, shortly before the battle of Bannockburn. One of these is a petition addressed by the bishop to Edward II., in which he prays the king, "pur Dieu et pur charite et p<sup>r</sup> salvacion "de sa alme," to allow him to dwell in England, within certain bounds, and in this document he styles himself "le EVESQUE DE "GLAGU." The petition appears to have received no attention, and again, therefore, the unfortunate bishop, in a second application, prays, "A nre seign<sup>r</sup> le rey et a son conseil voyle fere g<sup>a</sup>ce de sa "deliveraunce a demorer deinz Engleterre denz certynz boundes "al volente le roy;" and here also Wyschard designs himself "le "Evesque de GLAGU." In other documents of the time the name of the City appears in different forms. On the seal of the chapter of Glasgow, used in 1180, it is called *Glesgu*. In a letter by the Earl of Warrenne and Surrey to the king, in 1297, he

makes mention of the "evesque de *Glasgeu*." In another letter, addressed by the same nobleman to his sovereign, he speaks of "Sire le evesk de *Glascu*." In a letter by Hugh de Cressingham to the king of England, written also in 1297, the name appears in one place as *Glasgu* and in another part of the same letter as *Glasgou*—very much its present form—and in a charter by Robert III. in 1324 it is written *glasgw*. The two petitions by Bishop Wyschard to king Edward, however, being written in the Norman French of the period, and by a prelate so well informed, would suggest the idea that the letter S, though used in the Latin, and in the other documents to which I have referred, was not always pronounced in the colloquial language of the period, and this hypothesis receives some confirmation by finding the name in the same form, *Glagu*, on the seal of the community.

In regard to the origin of the name, nothing satisfactory has yet appeared in any of the books. M'Ure says, "It is called "Glasgow, as some say, *because* in the Highland or Irish language "Glasgow signifies a grayhound or a graysmith." Gibson says, "Glasgow in the Welsh language, as well as in the Gaelic, signifies "a graysmith"—the only inference that can be drawn from which, he adds, is "that some spot in the ancient part of the City was "in former times, before the establishment of the bishopric, the "place of residence of some blacksmith who had obtained a name "in his profession, and from it got the name of Glasgow, or the "habitation of the graysmith." Brown says, "We are told it is a "Gaelic word signifying *graysmith*, and got its name from a person

“of that profession, who had his residence in or near the place  
“where the bishop’s castle afterwards stood. Others,” he adds,  
“say Glasgow signifies the *grayhound ferry*, and we are also told  
“it signifies the *dark glen*.”

In all this there is nothing satisfactory. A gentleman who has the reputation of being one of the best Gaelic scholars in Scotland, has favoured me with the following:—“I am satisfied  
“that the name signifies the *black* or *dark church*. Other names,  
“such as *graysmith*, are too contemptible to be noticed by any  
“one professing a knowledge of the Gaelic language. The *black*  
“*church*, ‘Eaglais dhu,’ is what gave its name to the City of Glasgow.  
“*Eaglais*, being the feminine gender in Gaelic (the *ecclesia* of the  
“Romans), when joined to an adjective, the latter becomes aspirated,  
“so that *du* or *dubh* (black or dark) becomes *dhu*, pronounced *chu*.  
“‘Eaglais dhu,’ without any forced analysis of the Gaelic language,  
“is easily rendered by contraction *Glaschu*, pronounced *gu*, corrupted  
“into *gow*.”

But neither is this satisfactory. It is the explanation of a good vernacular Gaelic scholar—but these are not the safest guides in questions of this nature, a fact of which there are abundant proofs in the Old and New Statistical Accounts of Scotland. It is much more likely that the church took its name from the place, than the place from the church, which must have been at first a mere cell or oratory. The explanation, therefore, is still to be sought elsewhere.

In the life of Kentigern by Jocelin, the monk of Furnes, we are

told that Glasgow was not the original name of the place. When Kentigern brought the body of Fergus for burial, he came, the legend relates, "usque ad *Cathures*, quæ nunc *Glasghu* vocatur." But it had still another name after this, for elsewhere in the same history Jocelin says that Kentigern established his cathedral "in villa dicta *Deschu* quod interpretatur *Cara familia*, quæ nunc vocatur *Glaschu*." Jocelin also informs us, that in consequence of the amiable disposition of Kentigern, and the great affection which his master had for him, Servanus was accustomed to call him *Munghu* (or *Munchu*), which, Jocelin adds, "Latine dicitur *Carus amicus*." The termination *ghu* or *chu* in "*Deschu*," "*Glasghu*," is the same, and has obviously the same meaning, as the *ghu* in *Munghu*; and it is here, unquestionably, that we are to find the origin of the name of the City.

To Mr. W. F. Skene of Edinburgh, one of the best living authorities in such an inquiry, and who possesses the rare advantage of an intimate acquaintance with ancient Welsh compositions, I am indebted for the following valuable note on the subject:—

"The derivation of the name Glasgow from *Eglais dhu* is inadmissible; for first, in the word 'Eglais,' the accent is on the first syllable, and therefore it never could have been corrupted into *glas*; secondly, the term 'glas' enters largely into the topography both of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, as an initial syllable, and seems common to both dialects of the Celtic. In Wales we have 'Glasciom.' In Ireland it occurs about one hundred and fifty times, as in 'Glas Nevin,' &c. In Scotland frequently. It ob-

"viously does not mean *Eglais*. Thirdly, the word 'Eglais' is always corrupted in topography into 'Eccles.' And lastly, Glasgow being in Strathclyde, which was always occupied by a Cymric, not a Gaelic population, the etymology should be sought in Welsh, not in Gaelic.

"Jocelin says that *Munghu* or *Munchu*, the name of the saint, means *Carus amicus*. This is pure Welsh: 'Mwyn,' *clemens*, 'urbanus'; 'Cu,' *carus*. In composition *cu* becomes, in Welsh, *gu*.

"When Jocelin says that 'Deschu' meant *cara familia* he obviously gives the same meaning to the termination *cu* or *gu* as in 'Mungu,' and it is hardly to be doubted that the same termination in 'Glaschu' or 'Glasgu' has the same meaning.

"'Glas' has two meanings in both dialects of Celtic. It is the name of a colour—*viridis*. It also means water. 'Glasgu' means either '*the beloved green place*,' or '*the beloved water*'—probably the former, as there seems an analogy between the names *Glasgow* and *Lithgow*, the old form of which was *Lithchu* or *Lithgu*; and "'Lith' is also a colour. It is the Welsh *Lwyd*—gray."

This is very satisfactory, and the opinion of Mr. Skene is confirmed by the very eminent Irish scholar, Dr. Reeves, well known as the learned and accomplished editor of Adamnan's "Life of Columba." Dr. Reeves writes to me, that he considers "the final syllables in the names *Glasghu* and *Munghu* to be identical. The names belong to the British branch of the Celtic language, and a Gaelic interpretation is not a safe guide to their meaning. The derivation of Glasgow from *Eglais dhu* is utterly untenable. We

"had a 'Dubh regles,' *nigra ecclesia regularis*, in St. Columba's "monastery of Derry; but it is quite beyond credibility that *Eglais* "should become by apheresis *Glas*, with a different vocal sound, and "*ghu* become *dhu*, black. No, the secret of the last syllable is "revealed by the interpretations in Jocelin's Kentigern."

Whether we take the name to mean "the beloved stream," or, as Mr. Skene prefers to read it, "the beloved green place," we can conceive it to have been in every way appropriate. It was here, on the banks of the "Mellindonor," then a clear limpid stream, flowing through a beautiful retired glen, that St. Kentigern had his residence. It was here he was visited by Columba, who came, we are told, to visit the saint, accompanied "multa discipulorum turba "et aliorum, loco vocabulo Mellindonor, ubi tunc temporis Sanctus "manebat;" and it was here, on the secluded green spot hallowed by this meeting, and near those ancient trees which Jocelin tells us still shaded what had been the cell of St. Ninian of Galloway, that the first church was erected—a very humble edifice no doubt, and in all probability similar in form to those interesting and curious erections, combining church and cell, of which examples, erected at that very time by St. Columba, still remain in Ireland. We may well conceive, therefore, how this original fabric should take its name from a spot hallowed by such associations, and how the few huts which came to surround it, and which have expanded into the magnificent City of the present day, should have borne the name of "Glasghu."

Having mentioned the meeting between St. Columba and

Kentigern on the banks of the Molendinar, it may not be uninteresting to add what is mentioned by Jocelin, that on this occasion Columba gave a crozier to Kentigern—the “virga de simplici ligno” to which reference has been already made—and Fordun, who wrote about the year 1400, tells us that in his time this relic was still to be seen in the church of St. Wilfred at Ripon, where it was preserved with the greatest care in a case inlaid with gold and pearls.

But to return from this digression. In the year 1647 the great seal of the community of 1325 ceased to be used, and a new one



of a totally different design was adopted in its place. Under date 28th August, 1647, I find the following entry in the records of the Council:—“The said day John Grahame producit ane new seale  
“maid be direction of the toune, for which was payit xliij<sup>li</sup> 1s., which  
“is ordeinit to be payit to him be the thesaurer.” The representa-



tion of this seal here given is copied from an impression appended to a charter in favour of the corporation of hammermen in Glasgow, bearing date 16th July, 1650; and I have seen another equally good impression appended to the Seal of Cause, granted on 16th August, 1656, in favour of the "chirurgeounis and barbouris," and by which that corporation is authorized to exercise within burgh "the art of "chirurgie and barbourie." Having referred to this document, I may be permitted to give from it one short extract, which is too good to remain buried in the charter-chest of the corporation. The seal of cause provides, " That no free mane presume to taik ane uzr. "freemans cuir af his hand untill he be honestlie payit for his "bygaine paines, and that at the sight of the bailleis, with the udvyce "of thair visitour, in caice the patient find himself grived by the "chirurgiane, under the payne of ane new upset; *excepting always "libertie to the visitour and qrter maisters to tak patients from ane "free man not fund qualified for the cuiring of them, and to put "them to ane more qualified persoune as shall be thoght expedient "after exact tryall."*

That this seal of 1647 was substituted for the old seal of 1325, and that the latter was not broken up till this date, there can be no doubt. It is not at all probable, at least, that during the short period between 1606 and 1647, another seal was adopted and abandoned; and although I have seen no impression of the old seal of a date later than 1606, I have no doubt that such exist, and that it will be found appended to all deeds which bear the seal of the community down to 1647.

The difference between the old seal and this new one is very striking. The change is so complete, indeed, that they have hardly a single feature in common. No explanation of any kind as to this change of design appears in the books of the Council, nor are any instructions recorded even as to the making of the seal. "John Grahame," whoever that person was, appears to have received verbal instructions on the subject, and the first notice we have of it is when he produces it to the Council and obtains an order for the cost of getting it executed.

This is the first time that the tree, bird, bell, and fish appear together under strictly official sanction in something like their present combination. The bishop's head is discarded, and the emblems, which before occupied only a subordinate place, now occupy the chief portion of the seal. The change of views produced by the reformation might be thought sufficient to account for a community holding such decided opinions as Glasgow did in the middle of the seventeenth century, displacing from their common seal the head of the bishop, for a different spirit was in the ascendant now from that which prevailed when the Laird of Minto, in support of episcopacy, invaded the Presbytery House and beat out the teeth of the moderator. Under date 13th March of this same year, 1647, in which the new seal was made, we find also an ordinance in the burgh records "that in all tyme coming the Deane of Gild "and his bretheren ressave no man burges or gild brother quhill "first they subscriye the League and Covenant;" and, in the same year, are various other entries indicative of the zeal of the com-

munity for the cause which they had by this time so much at heart.

Yet there is no reason to think that the change of the devices on the seal owed its origin to any feeling of that kind. We shall find that so early as the close of the preceding century, and when the feelings of the community towards the bishops were certainly not unfriendly, this same arrangement had been adopted in cases where, on sculptured stones and otherwise, the insignia of the community were to be represented. And the bishops themselves had followed the same course in regard to the seals of the diocese—displacing the head or figure of the saint and substituting other devices, of which examples may be found on the seals of the archbishops Fairfowl and Cairncross, and on the seal of the Chapter of Glasgow as used in 1664. Be that as it may, the necessity of filling up the blank caused by the removal of the bishop's head was no doubt the reason why, in lack of any other "charge," the branch was promoted into a full-grown tree and made to fill the vacant space.

But while this is the first instance where I have found the emblems officially represented in this manner, there are, as I have mentioned, earlier examples in which the same or a similar arrangement appears—one of them as early as 1592—occurring in representations of the arms of the City in a heraldic form, which, if not expressly bearing the stamp of official authority, were certainly made with the sanction of the magistrates. In some of these we shall find the tree issuing from the salmon, and in an important example

appearing on the bell of the Tron Church—to be afterwards more particularly noticed—the tree is represented growing out of a mount in base, as it ought to be if we are to have a tree instead of a mere branch. I have no doubt, therefore, that the artist who executed the new seal of 1647 had before him these recent examples, and was guided by them in discarding so entirely the design and arrangement of the old seal.

But in the seal of 1647, it is curious to notice—what occurs in none of these previous examples—that the tree is represented *eradicated*, thus retaining, as it were, the idea of the detached branch of the older seal, although that branch is now expanded into the dimensions of a full-grown tree.

The other changes from the previous seal are equally important. The salmon, which in the old seal is represented in an upright position (*hauriant*, or in pale), is now represented horizontally (*naiant*, or in fess). In the new seal, however, it is improperly represented with its back uppermost, in this going against all the ecclesiastical examples both before and after the Reformation, wherever the fish is represented in fess, and also against the precedents of the Tron Church bell and the earlier sculptured examples to which I have already referred. The bird is placed on the top of the tree, as in the former seal it was placed on the top of the branch, but, following correct heraldic rule, it is now turned so as to face the dexter side of the seal. The bell is retained on the sinister side in the same position which it occupied on the former seal, and, as it ought to be, detached from the tree. There is no heraldic motto,

but the legend on the circle is improved and expressed in terms more befitting the increased importance of the City:—SIGILLVM COMVNE CIVITATIS GLASGVÆ.

This seal continued in use for one hundred and forty-three years—a long period also, longer in proportion, perhaps, than that of the previous seal, if judged by the greater number of impressions which must have been taken from it. It was changed at length, not apparently for any heraldic reasons, but because it was considered to be ill cut, and, in point of form, less convenient for use than the modern mode of impressing, then coming into use.

Under date 30th December, 1789, the following entry appears in the Council books:—"The said day, the magistrates and council, "considering that the City seal now in use is very imperfectly cut, "and improperly constructed for the purpose for which it is intended, "agree, that a new seal shall be made, more properly adapted for "the said purposes, and set into a frame, for affixing the City seal "upon all writings, to which it must necessarily be affixed, with "wafers, or wax, as may be found most convenient to the persons "applying for the said seal; and authorize the town-clerk to get "a seal made in that form, to be used in time coming as the common "seal of the City of Glasgow; and after it is made, ordain the seal "now used to be broken and defaced." At the same time there was ordered "another seal to be made, to be used as the common "seal of the burgh court of the City of Glasgow in all deeds and "writings to which the seal of the said court shall be necessarily "affixed, distinguishing the said court seal from the common seal

“of the City, by having the words ‘The common seal of the burgh  
“‘court of Glasgow’ thereupon engraved.” And in the following  
year an entry occurs, under date 26th October, in the following  
terms:—“The said day, John Orr, one of the clerks, reported  
“verbally that the town seal, and the seal of the town court, which  
“by act of Council of 30th December last were ordered to be made,  
“had been some time ago sent from London, and that they are  
“now in use, and that, in consequence of these new seals having  
“been made, the old town seal had been broken down and defaced.”

Of the seal here mentioned as having been made for the burgh  
court I can find no trace, and Mr. Simson, who filled for so long  
a time the office of extractor of that court, informs me that he  
never saw or heard of it, and that there was no trace of it in the  
time of the late Mr. Reddie.

The other seal then made is that which is in use at the present  
time as the common seal of the City. It  
is certainly no improvement on the one  
which it superseded so far as execution  
is concerned, while as regards design it  
exhibits various startling changes for the  
worse.



In the first place, the tincture of the  
field, instead of being argent, as it ought  
to be, is represented *parti per fess argent*  
and *gules*. What warrant, if any, the town-clerks had for this, or how  
it came to be introduced, I have been unable to discover. It was

not, however, on this seal that it first appeared, for I find the same blazon on a burgess ticket, which I shall afterwards notice, bearing a date forty years previous to this time. But not only is such an arrangement entirely without authority, but it is contrary to a fundamental rule of good heraldry, which forbids the placing of colour upon colour—the stem of the tree, the mount, and the fish, which are all represented *proper*, being placed on that part of the shield the tincture of which is *gules*.

In the new seal, again, the salmon is raised up from the position at the base of the tree which it occupied in the previous examples, and is placed athwart the middle of the stem; and not only so, but its position is reversed, the head of the fish being turned towards the sinister side of the shield—in this, not only ignoring the old examples, but transgressing another rule of heraldry, which requires that fishes, in common with all other animals, shall be placed with the head towards the dexter side of the shield, except in those cases where there are more than one, and where they are represented *counter naint*, as in the arms of the burgh of Peebles.

Again, the bell is changed from the sinister side of the shield to the dexter side, in this also ignoring the precedents afforded by both of the preceding seals, as well as the example of the seal of Archbishop Cairncross, where it appears on the sinister side. And, equally without authority, as it is opposed to the previous examples, the bell is attached to the tree. To complete the absurdity, the distinctive description of the seal is placed where the heraldic motto

ought to be, and the motto is placed outside in the place which ought to be occupied by the name of the seal.

The motto I shall advert to afterwards. I would only observe here, that although this is the first time that a motto appears officially in connection with the arms of the City, the words on this seal, "Let Glasgow Flourish," are only an abridgment of what had been previously used. This seal has now been in use for nearly eighty years. For the credit of the City, it is to be hoped that it will ere long give place to one more correct in design and more in accordance with the rules of heraldry.

We have had thus a succession of five different seals used by the community during the last five hundred years. Each of these differs essentially from that which preceded it, and the latest in date—that which is at present in use—is the furthest removed from all that is correct, both as regards heraldic rule and correct design. In the case of all the previous seals, any objection to the arrangement founded on heraldic reasons might legitimately be met by the answer, that being mere seals, and that not professing to represent coat armour, they were not amenable to the rules of heraldry. But no such apology can be preferred on behalf of our present seal. The division of the field, and the indication of the tinctures by the conventional heraldic lines, at once stamp it with a heraldic character, and the same blazon has since been repeatedly represented on shields of various forms used or sanctioned by the magistrates.

It is clear, therefore, that neither on this seal—heraldic as it professes to be—nor on any of the seals of the community that



preceded it, are we to find any authentic example of what are the proper armorial bearings of the City. I proceed, therefore, to notice the other representations which we possess of what profess to be the City arms, whether on seals, on old sculptures, or in engravings.

The first of these to which I would direct attention is on a stone built into the wall over the entrance to the Tron Church. It has



evidently formed part of the first church, which was destroyed by fire, and which was erected in the year 1592—the date which appears on the stone. Here the tree, the bird, the fish, and the bell are represented on a shield in heraldic form. This is the first example known in which they so appear, and the arrangement is the same as that which is subsequently found on the seal of Archbishop Cairncross in 1684. The only difference is, that on the stone the bell is represented on the dexter side of the shield instead of the sinister, which I conceive to be its proper position. It is the one which it occupies on the archbishop's seal, and it appears on

the sinister side in all the older examples of the ecclesiastical seals, and also on the seals of the community during a period of more than three hundred years. With this exception, and that the tree is not, as it ought to be, represented growing out of a mount in base, I consider that this old sculpture correctly represents what are, or rather what ought to be, the arms of the city. That it was intended to represent the arms of the city there cannot be any doubt. The church was erected by the community, and from entries in the council books, of dates not long subsequent—referring to other representations of the town's arms, and to which I shall presently refer—there is every reason to believe that it was by the instructions of the magistrates that they were thus placed over the entrance to this church. Whether the particular blazon appearing on the stone was the result of special instructions given by the magistrates, or whether it was left to the discretion of some official, or whether, as is possible, the sanction of the Lord Lyon had been obtained to such an arrangement, it is impossible now to say. It was in this same year, 1592, that the first important act of parliament relating to the matriculation of arms was passed, and we have seen that on the occasions of two several visitations of heralds in the following century, when cognizance was taken of the unauthorized use of arms by private citizens, and penalties were inflicted, no steps were taken against the magistrates, although blazons of the city arms were at that time publicly displayed on this and other buildings belonging to the corporation. Whatever the history of it may be, the stone in question is important as the earliest example I can discover of the

insignia of the city appearing on a shield in heraldic form, and on a building which stamps them with, to say the least, a quasi official authority.

Over the door of another building, erected by the Corporation a few years later—namely, the old grammar-school, which was built



in 1601, the arms again appear on a shield and in the same form. This sculpture, I have no doubt, was copied from the one at the Tron Church, and was probably executed by the same hand.

There is another old stone preserved in Lauder's Crypt in the Cathedral, of which the valuable work of Mr. Seton, to which I have already referred, contains a woodcut, for the use of which I have been indebted to Mr. Seton's courtesy. I notice it in this place, because it has been frequently referred to as the oldest example known of the arms of the City in heraldic form. What its history

is I do not know, but from its appearance I think it not improbable that it has formed part of the ornamentation of a tomb. Be that



as it may, I am satisfied that it is not of the age ascribed to it, but, on the contrary, is of a date later than either the Tron Church stone or that over the door of the old grammar-school. The shape of the shield also indicates a comparatively recent date. If not executed



by the same hand that cut the two others, I have little doubt it was copied from them. I am confirmed in this by finding on the front

of the staircase in the inner quadrangle of the College, a stone on which the City arms are represented in the same way and on a shield nearly of the same form (page 123). This building was certainly not erected previous to 1631, and in all probability the stone in the Cathedral is not of a much older date.

All these examples are of a strictly armorial character, and if they do not represent the City arms in the precise form in which they ought now to be adopted, there is this to be said for them, that they are infinitely superior in design and arrangement, as well as in heraldic propriety, to what appears on our present common seal and other examples used in our own time. They afford evidence, also, that although the old seal of 1325 still continued in use, the attention of the community had begun to be directed to heraldry, and to the propriety of adopting coat armour for the City.

Towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, indeed, heraldry had begun to command more attention in Scotland generally than it hitherto had done. The act of 1592, which is one of the statutes which still define and regulate the powers of the Lord Lyon, had just, as I have already said, been passed, and the Reformation which had shortly preceded it had given an impetus to independent thought and action, especially among corporations which, like Glasgow, had been so long subservient to the rule and control of the bishops. At this time, too, our University was beginning to take a high place among the schools of Christendom, and James Melville, writing so early as 1580, was able to say:—"I dare say there was na "place in Europe comparable to Glasgow for guid letters during

"theis yeirs, for a plentiful and guid chepe mercat of all kynd of "langages, artes, and sciences." It was to be expected, therefore, that the community of Glasgow, although yet far from having attained complete civic freedom, should, after the flight of the last of the Roman Catholic archbishops, have turned their attention to matters affecting their own importance and the dignity of the city, and there occur various entries in the records of the Council confirmatory of this. For example, on the very eve of the Reformation, we find the magistrates engaged with a matter affecting their personal consequence. Under date 2d October, 1559, there is the following entry in the burgh records:—"Ilk officer ordainit "to gang at the baillies bakis with ane halbert or ax conform to "the uss of Edinbrught, and thai to be thairfoir augmentit in thair "guill wageiss." It was no doubt in the same spirit, and very possibly also in imitation of Edinburgh and other neighbouring burghs, that the magistrates resolved on adopting armorial bearings, and that when the Tron Church came to be erected in 1592, and the grammar-school and other public buildings subsequently, they ordered the City arms to be placed upon them. I do not find any resolution in the Council books to that effect before the year 1630, though there may have been such, for the records are unfortunately lost from 1581 to 1588, from 1596 to 1609, and again for the period from 1614 to 1623. In the year 1630 and subsequently, however, there is repeated mention of the "toun armes," and directions are given for placing them on clocks and public buildings, and I have little doubt that it was by the sanction if not by the

express orders of the magistrates, that the greater number of the examples which exist were placed where we find them.

Among other buildings, the arms of the City appear to have been placed on the new Tolbooth. Dr. Clelland states that that building was erected in 1603, but this is a mistake. It was erected in 1626. In the month of April of that year there is an entry in the records that "Gabriel Smythie undertuik to scherp the hail "masoun irnes during the tyme of the building of the tolbuith and "stipell thairof qll the work be endit, for fourtie pundis money;" and under date 15th May of the same year, it is recorded that "the "said day the grund stane of the tolbuith of Glasgow was laid."

Above "the entrie to the gevil" of this new building the arms of the City had been placed, and four years afterwards, namely, on 17th July, 1630, there occurs in the Council books an order that the treasurer shall have "ane warrand for threttie pund debursit be him "to Valentine Genking for gelting the cok, and als the thrystell "and croun abone the kings armes, and to gelt the tounes arms "above the entrie to the gevil of the tolbuith." The king's arms are still to be seen on the west face of the portion that yet remains of the old Tolbooth, but of the arms of the City mentioned in the Council books I find no trace. There is a stone with arms cut on it on the south face of the steeple, which I shall afterwards have occasion to notice; but I do not think that these could have been the arms referred to, and indeed, for reasons to be afterwards stated, I put no faith in that stone at all.

The entry which I have just quoted is interesting as the first

which I have been able to trace, in the records of the Council or elsewhere, where mention is made of "the tounes armes." The seal of the community is often enough noticed, but this is the first time that the armorial bearings of the City appear to be mentioned officially.

The next entry in the burgh records where I find the arms noticed is under date 8th August, 1657. It is as follows:—"The same day it is concludit and agreed upon that James Colquhounne paint and fix the tounes armes and geir of God on everie horologe brode, and that being done, grantis warrand to James Bornis to pay to the said James Colquhounne for the paynting and culloving of the four horologe brodis of the tolboothe and gilding the lettres thair of as they now stand, the soume of four hundreth merkis money."

Again, on 7th February, 1663, there occurs the following entry:—"The same day recommend to the Deane of Gild and Deacon Conveinor to provyd for ane knock and ane paill of belles to be put in the steiple now in building in the Briggait, and ordaines the tounes armes to be fixit on the belles." That the arms were placed accordingly on the bell of this steeple there can be little doubt, but unfortunately it was taken down and recast in 1815, and of the arms, if they were then upon it, no memorandum or copy was preserved.

From the terms of all these entries, there can be little doubt, that the attention of the Council had been directed to the importance of heraldic insignia to the dignity of the City, and that in the



examples which are preserved when we find the City arms represented in heraldic form, we are entitled to infer that they were erected by order of the magistrates. Especially are we entitled, I think, to assume that such was the case in the example to which I would next direct attention. I refer to the representation of the city arms on the bell in the Tron steeple.

It was in 1631 that this bell was ordered to be made, and it was resolved that it should be a fine one. It was to be executed, not by a native, but by a foreign artificer. The arms of the city were to be placed upon it, and special instructions behoved to be sent to Holland as to the manner in which the arms were to be blazoned. There was also to be added an inscription, not only appropriate to a bell, but suggestive of that great religious change by which Glasgow, in common with the rest of the kingdom, was to be so largely benefited. Whether this inscription or motto was now used for the first time does not appear; but we may conclude that the terms of it, like the blazon of the arms to be put on the bell, were the subject of special instructions. In the Council records there is nothing to assist us on the subject, for the portion of these from 1630 to 1636 is lost. It was in the circumstances, however, which I have mentioned, and at a time when, as we know from other entries in the Council books, both before and subsequently, the attention of the magistrates had been specially directed to matters connected with the arms of the City, that this bell of the Tron Church was made, and the arms represented on it. I consider it therefore to be an example of considerable value for the purpose of the present inquiry, as showing

what at that time was considered as the armorial bearings of the Corporation. From the mode in which the bell is hung I had difficulty in examining the arms so minutely as I wished; but by the kindness of the Chamberlain I have obtained a cast, from which the annexed drawing has been made. The arms are executed in relief,



but rather roughly, and in some places the metal is considerably corroded. The emblems are placed on a shield in proper heraldic form. The bell is still placed on the dexter side; but, for the first time, the tree is represented growing out of a mount in base—as it ought to be, if a tree instead of a branch is to be borne on the shield,—and the fish is properly placed above the mount and at the base of the stem of the tree. The change in the tree, representing it growing from a mount, and which is in conformity with the blazon

given by Nisbet, must have been made by special design, for there was certainly no precedent for it in any of the older forms. In the stone over the Tron Church door the tree might be said to be in a transition state from the ancient form of a branch, and here the transition is completed by placing it on a mount. It is certainly strange that in the seal of the Corporation adopted some years after this (1647) the roots only of the tree should be represented, without the mount, but with that exception the tree never appears after this time in any of the examples otherwise than growing from a mount in base.

The inscription in the circle surrounding the shield is as follows: "LORD LET GLASGOW FLOVRICHSE THROVGH THE PREACHING OF THY "WORD AND PRIASING THY NAME." On the top ring of the bell is the inscription: "Soli. deo. gloria. MICHAEL BVCKERHVYS me fecit. "Anno domini 1631." And below: "Fides est ex auditu et auditus "ex berbo dei. Faith commes by heang (*sic*) and hearing by the "word of God, Rom. x. 17."

This is the first example where the arms of the City appear accompanied by any inscription or motto. Whether it was intended as a heraldic accompaniment to the arms, however, is by no means certain. It is possible it was meant only as one of those inscriptions so common on the bells of churches, to indicate their use and the objects for which they called the people together, and the great length of it seems to confirm this view. There is an example of such an inscription on the bell of St. George's Church, made in 1808:

"I to the church the people call,  
And to the grave I summon all."

Be that as it may, however, the inscription on the bell of the Tron Church, or rather, the abridgment of it now in use, came to be adopted as a heraldic accompaniment of the arms of the City. To return now to the motto in its original length is out of the question, and it would be equally objectionable to adopt the partially abridged version which has been used in some of the later examples, "Let Glasgow flourish by the Preaching of the Word," for this conveys a part only of the original idea. The shorter motto, "Let Glasgow flourish," has now been so long in use, that it is perhaps better to adhere to it. The terms of it are general, and to those who know its history it will always suggest the omitted words. In other respects, this example of the arms appears to be the one to which we ought now to return, with the single exception of the position of the bell, which ought certainly to be on the sinister side, and to which side it was restored in the common seal of the City made in 1647.

The same arrangement of the arms appears on a sculptured stone over the entrance to the Clayslap Mills at Partick. These mills originally belonged to the City, and were no doubt erected by the magistrates in 1654, the date appearing on the stone. The example is therefore valuable as another of those which were executed under sanction of the civic authorities. The arrangement is the same as that which appears on the Tron Church bell. The tree is represented growing out of a mount. The salmon is placed on its back at the bottom of the stem. The bird is placed on the top of the tree; and the bell is not attached to a branch, but separate.

Except that the bell is erroneously placed on the dexter side, this, like the sculpture on the Tron Church bell, is what I believe to be



the correct representation of the arms of the City. The Clayslap Mills were acquired from the City by the incorporation of bakers about the year 1770.

I was informed that there were arms on the bell of the Blackfriars' Church, but on going to inspect it, I found that they were the arms not of the City, but of Mr. Duncan of Barrowfield, by whom it had been presented to the Corporation, in 1643. In the year 1670, there is an entry in the Council records, directing this bell to be sent to Holland, "to be castin over againe with the same "name, armes, and year of God, as is presently thereupone;" and a subsequent minute contains an order for payment of

“232<sup>lib</sup> o<sup>s</sup>. o<sup>d</sup> for transmitting and home bringing the Blackfriars  
“Kirk bell, and casting thereof in Holland.” This incident is not  
directly connected with the subject of the present inquiry, but the  
care manifested by the Council to preserve the arms on the bell,  
indicates an interest in heraldic matters which is not without  
significance.

The next example of the City arms in point of date which I  
would notice occurs in a woodcut in a copy of the New Testament



in black letter, printed in Glasgow by Robert Sanders in 1670. Sanders describes himself on the title-page as “Printer to the Toun,” and it is on this account only I notice it, because from his holding that office it might be presumed that he would have access to correct examples. There is a similar woodcut in a book also printed by Sanders in 1663, the only difference being that it is more coarsely

cut. The tree, it will be observed, is represented growing from a mount in base, as it ought to be. The bird is correctly placed on the top of the tree—not on the side of it, as in later examples; and the bell is placed in its proper position on the sinister side of the shield, and detached from the tree. The salmon only is out of its place, probably from the mere caprice of the engraver. I need not say that for this variation there is no authority, but it is instructive as one of the many varieties which have continued to occur from the time when the arms first appear on a shield down to the present day, and which exhibit a greater or less departure from the correct blazon, according to the ignorance or caprice of the party intrusted to represent them.

This example, however, is interesting, as exhibiting the first step in the process of abridging the motto. It is now reduced to "Lord let Glasgow flourish through the Preaching of thy Word." On the bell in the Ramshorn or North-west Church, bearing the date 1709, it is further curtailed to "Let Glasgow flourish by the Preaching of "the Word," and now it has been clipped down to the "Let Glasgow "flourish" of the present day.

Another and very absurd variety of the arms is to be found on a pretentious and elaborately ornamental stone placed over the entrance to the Blackfriars' Church, and which has beneath it the date 1699—the year in which the present church was built. That the arrangement of the emblems exhibited in this case was the result of mere fancy on the part of a mason left to carve what he chose without instructions, there can be little doubt, though how he should

be allowed to execute such a design on a building belonging to the Corporation, and on which, in all probability, the magistrates had



ordered the town arms to be put, is unaccountable. This is the earliest example I have met with of the motto in its present abridged form, "Let Glasgow flourish."

In a depôt in Clyde Street belonging to the Corporation, among a quantity of rubbish, I found another stone, very like the one on the Blackfriars' Church, and which, I was told, was taken from the front of Silvercraigs Land, the house in Saltmarket Street in which Oliver Cromwell lodged when he was in Glasgow. It is possible it came from that house, though I can hardly think that it is so old as the time when that tenement was erected. Silvercraigs Land, the house in which Cromwell lodged, stood on the east side of the Saltmarket, immediately opposite the opening of the Bridgegate. Cromwell was



in Glasgow in 1650, and the house in question was probably erected about ten years previously, subsequent to the marriage of Robert



Campbell of Silvercraigs, whose arms, impaled with those of his wife, the daughter of James Stewart of Floak, were sculptured on the front of it. It was taken down about the year 1830. In Mr. Stuart's *Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times*, which contains a drawing of this old house, and in which it is particularly described, there is no mention of any stone containing the City arms; but Mr. Stuart says that "in its front were placed—surmounted by "*the national arms*—two sculptured shields, one of which bore the "gyron quarterings of the family of Argyll, and the other the "cognizances of the houses of Campbell and Stewart, parti per pale." Both of the stones here described—that containing the royal arms of Scotland, and the other with the two shields on it, are now in the

depôt in Clyde Street, lying beside the stone containing the Glasgow arms which I have just described. This may give some countenance to the statement of my informant, Mr. Colquhoun, that they all three came from the same house; but the one containing the so-called City arms has certainly the appearance of having been executed at a date more recent than the others. It is indeed so like the stone over the door of the Blackfriars' Church as to lead to the inference that, if not actually executed by the same hand, the one was copied from the other. It is quite possible also that the stone was inserted in the wall of Silvercraigs Land long after the erection of that building, and we are not without examples of such changes in that locality. In the year 1782 there occurred a heavy flood in the river, which rose to a great height above its usual level; and Denholm, writing in 1804, tells us that "the exact height of the flood is marked on the wall of a "house at the foot of the Saltmarket." Some time ago, when this house was taken down, the stone bearing this inscription was inserted in another house in the same locality—not at its former elevation, however, but in a place *twenty feet higher up*, where it is now to be seen. The inscription is nearly obliterated, all that remains being the words "12 Ma. . . . the river," quite sufficient, however, to identify it with the stone mentioned by Denholm, and to distract some future geologist or antiquary. Whether the sculpture of the City arms which I have just been describing, was dealt with in the same way by a later proprietor of the mansion of Silvercraigs, I do not know; but in any case it is deserving of no weight as an authority.

Having referred to this interesting old tenement, I may mention

that it belonged in 1703 not to "a brother of the Laird of Roxburn," as Mr. Stuart says, but to Walter Scott the brother of the Laird of Raeburn, who became proprietor of it in right of his wife, Mary the daughter and heiress of Robert Campbell of Silvercraigs. It was this Walter Scott who is so well known by his surname of "Beardie," and who was great-grandfather of Sir Walter Scott. In his autobiography Sir Walter speaks of being connected with the Blythwood family, through the marriage of Beardie with "a Miss "Campbell of Silvercraigs in the west," and such was the case, for the brother of Silvercraigs was Colin Campbell of Blythwood. But Sir Walter seems not to have been aware when he was giving immortality to the "Sautmarket," in his inimitable novel, that this ancestor of whom he was the heir of line, had been proprietor of so stately a mansion in that now celebrated locality. Probably, also, he was unaware of what it would have given him much delight to know, that through the marriage of Colin Campbell, the grandfather of Silvercraigs, with Mary Lyon a descendant of the noble house of Glamis, he was himself a lineal descendant of king Robert II.

In the eighteenth century the first example I have found of our City arms, is on a church-token which bears the date 1725. It is one of those which were used at the communion in the City churches, and was of course made by order of the magistrates. In every respect it is the same blazon of the arms as appears in the earliest of the sculptured stones, that, namely, over the door of the Tron Church, except that the bell is here smaller and appears to be attached to the tree; and, in its general design, it is the same as the

blazon on the bell of the Tron Church, except that the bell on the token is suspended, and that the mount is not visible below the salmon. The specimen, however, from which the drawing has been made is a good deal worn, and it is quite possible that it was intended to represent the mount, and also to show the bell detached.



The next example of the arms in point of date which calls for notice, is that given by M'Ure in his well-known *History of Glasgow*, published in 1736, and here we are met by another novelty. In all the examples prior to this, so far as they can be judged of from sculptures or engravings, the field had been represented *argent*—which unquestionably is the proper blazon. But M'Ure not only divides the field, but blazons it *per fess argent and sable*. There can be no doubt as to the tinctures. The upper portion is left white, and the base is represented black by the conventional cross lines, which in heraldry are well known to indicate that colour. This is the first example where I have found the field parted *per fess*, and where M'Ure got it, or whether he had any authority or precedent for it at all, I have been unable to discover. He was followed, if not in the tinctures, at least in the division *per fess*, in many subsequent examples, including the seal used by the community at the present time, on which, as we have seen, the shield is represented *per fess*—not *argent and sable*, however, like M'Ure's, but *argent and gules*. Another innovation in M'Ure's blazon is that he attaches the bell to the tree, and in this also, although there is not a vestige of authority for it, he has been

followed in almost all the subsequent examples. In other respects his blazon is sufficiently correct. The bird and the salmon occupy



their proper places; the tree is represented growing out of a mount in base, and the motto is the abridged version which has since been followed. The description of the arms which M'Ure gives in the text is very incomplete, but it is correct so far as it goes:—"The arms of the City is an oak-tree with a bird on the top, a salmon "with a ring in its mouth, and a bell." In calling it an oak-tree M'Ure follows Nisbet, and it is so called in all the other authorities where the particular kind of tree is specified.

In the next example, the arms are represented on the back of an engraved burgess ticket, which bears the date of 1749, and here the shield is divided per fess argent and gules—white and red. It is surrounded with floreated ornaments, which it is



not necessary to give here, and the inside of the document is ornamented in the same way. Above the arms is the short motto, "Let Glasgow flourish." In this case, at all events, there can be no doubt as to the tinctures of the field, for the arms are coloured, though in a very rude way, as I have represented them. On the bird, bell, and fish, there is no colour. The example is interesting as the first I have been able to find on which this particular tincture of the shield occurs. How it came to be adopted I cannot imagine. Possibly it was a mere freak of what has been appropriately enough termed the coach-painting school of heraldry, but however that may be, it was destined to be extensively followed, and to receive official sanction by being transferred to the new City seal, the one

now in use. In other respects, the arms in this example are in accordance with those given by M'Ure, and the arrangement is correct, with the exception of the bell being attached to the tree, and the fish being rather too high on the stem.

This burgess ticket was superseded by another, of which I have found an example dated 1766. It is in every respect, except the arms, the same as the one of 1749, the ornamentation of the one, both inside and on the back, appearing to have been copied



from the other. But the arrangement of the arms on the ticket of 1766 is exactly the reverse of that which occurs on the ticket of 1749. The head of the fish is turned towards the sinister side of the shield. The bird is also made to face the same side, while the bell is suspended on the dexter side. No better examples could be given than these two—both official—of that total want of uniformity and disregard of heraldic propriety which have characterized the representations of our unhappy coat of arms.

I find another variety, still, in a curious old engraving, of which I have never seen but one copy. It represents a portico supported by two pillars, on the top of which is the date 1758. Under the portico are three figures. The one in the centre is a grim-looking clergyman in a Geneva gown with a long staff in his hand, and on each side are figures of gentlemen—Glasgow merchants no doubt—dressed in the costume of the period. Above the portico is the sun. On one side of it is a lion crowned holding a sword and sceptre, and on the other a thistle also crowned. On the portico is the following inscription:—"This City's  
"freedom purchased was by me: since  
"that be so then I was born free: then I'm  
"born free and of antiquity." Within the entablature are the City arms, represented as in the annexed drawing. Here, it will be observed, the field is blazoned parti per fess, but instead of white and black like M'Ure's, or white and red like the two burgess tickets, the tincture is argent and azure—white and blue—the horizontal lines being those which in heraldry always denote that colour. It may be said that these lines are mere shading, and that the engraver did not perhaps intend them to represent any particular colour. This is no doubt possible, and the same observation might be applied to the representation of the arms given by M'Ure, as well as to that which we find on our present common seal. But if this were so, it could only show how little





reliance was to be placed on examples which exhibit such ignorance of the common rules of heraldic blazon. If, on the other hand, the lines are really intended to represent the tinctures which in heraldry such lines always do indicate—and there can be little room for doubt that such is the case as regards the present seal—then the entire absence of uniformity in the examples equally deprives them of all credit as authorities.

The present common seal, which I have already described, was made in 1789, and the artist appears to have taken for his model the burgess ticket of 1766, except as to the position of the bird—only, by way of variety, he turned the salmon round, so as to represent it with its back up, and placed it higher up on the stem of the tree.

Of a date immediately following that of the present seal, we find another variety of the arms on one of those pieces of money called “Glasgow tokens,” which were coined at the end of the last century, in consequence of the scarcity and great depreciation of copper money. Our late townsman, “Senex,” in the interesting and valuable work, *Glasgow Past and Present*, speaking of this time says:—“The retail dealers in Edinburgh appear to have been “in pretty much the same situation as our Glasgow shopkeepers “with regard to the depreciated copper coinage in circulation, in “consequence of which Messrs. Thomas and Charles Hutchison of “Edinburgh issued a very elegant copper token of the value of a “halfpenny, and their example was followed immediately afterwards “by Messrs. Gilbert Shearer and Company of Glasgow, who issued “an equally handsome copper token of like value.” The annexed

engraving is from one of the latter, being of the same size as the original. It bears date 1791, and round the outer edge is the name "Gilbert Shearer & Company." It is remarkably well executed. On the one side is the recumbent figure of an old man leaning on a vase, on which is inscribed the word "Clyde," and from which a copious stream is flowing, the whole being surrounded by the appropriate motto "nunquam arescere." On the other side of the coin is a shield containing the arms of the City, and the motto "Let Glasgow flourish." Here, as in the City seal, the field is divided per fess argent and gules, but everything else is exactly the reverse of that seal. The bird is placed on the dexter side of the tree and facing the sinister side, the bell is suspended from the tree on the sinister side, and the salmon is restored to its proper position in having its head turned to the dexter side. This arrangement has resulted, I have no doubt, from the same process which produced in the burgess ticket a representation of the "charges" the reverse of what appeared in M'Ure's example. The artist who designed the coin had just copied on to his die the bearings on the City seal as they stood, and of course the impression came out the reverse.



I may notice in this place two other communion tokens of the City churches on which the arms are represented, and which, like the church-token of 1725, already described, must have been made by order of the magistrates. The first, which bears date

1776, appears to be in all respects the same as that of 1725, except that the mount from which the tree is growing is distinctly seen



below the fish. The other, which is dated 1819, exhibits the modern errors of the shield parted per fess, and the bird turned the wrong way, as in the coin of 1791.

As we come nearer the present time, the varieties in the blazon of our unfortunate arms continue to increase. On the burgess ticket



now, or at least till very recently, in use, and which was probably engraved some forty or fifty years ago, the bell is suspended on

the dexter side, and the salmon, while still retaining its position with the head towards the sinister side, is turned round as in the present common seal so as to have its back uppermost. The tree is expanded into a vast mass of foliage, and the bird is represented low down in the tree, and so small as to be hardly visible, while the upper portion of the shield, instead of being represented argent, is converted into *a sky with clouds*, so as to form a pictorial back-ground.

This example is only surpassed in absurdity by another representation of the arms which forms the frontispiece to one of our



local histories, published in Glasgow so late as 1843, and in which a totally new and perfectly original idea is introduced in the blazon.

The artist, availing himself of an artist's privilege, and following his own fancy, as most of his predecessors had done—understanding also, if that were possible, still less of heraldry than they did—had supposed that the division of the shield per fess with the perpendicular lines by which the colour was indicated were intended to represent *a fence*, and, determined not to be outdone in variety or fertility of invention by any of the examples which had gone before, he first of all expands the “mount” into a field adorned with Scotch thistles; then he converts the lines indicating the tincture into *a paling* inclosing the field; and to crown all he introduces the spire of the Cathedral beyond it as an appropriate back-ground to his picture! This exquisite production, which, as I have said, forms the frontispiece to a History of Glasgow emanating from a highly respectable publishing house (but who were certainly not responsible for the design), is ostentatiously entitled “the Armorial “Bearing of the City of Glasgow.” If it was intended as a satire on all that had gone before there is wit in it. If, on the other hand, it was seriously intended to be a true representation of the City arms, the worst that can be said of it is, that it is characteristic of the state of heraldic knowledge among us in the later half of the nineteenth century.

I now proceed to notice the arms as they appear on official seals and other insignia now in use other than the common seal of the City. The latter I have already described; but there are two other small seals or dies used in the office of the Town Clerks, differing from each other, and both differing from the common seal.

On one of these, which appears to have seen considerable service, the bearings are the same as on the common seal, but on a garter surrounding the shield is the motto, "Let Glasgow flourish," and above, on a label, "Town Clerks Office," in this differing from the common seal, which has the distinctive appellation in the garter and the motto on the label outside. The other small seal is used as a die for impressing the paper used in the office, and here the positions of the fish and the bell are the reverse of what they are on the common seal—the bell being suspended on the sinister side and the salmon being turned with its head to the dexter side. There is no motto, but on a label within the shield are the words, "Town Clerks Chambers."



Passing from the office of the Town Clerks to that of the Chamberlain, we find three seals used as office-seals, besides a die by which the paper used officially by the Lord Provost and in the Chamberlain's department is impressed. I subjoin copies of two of these seals of the size of the originals. On the first, which is a brass or bronze seal, and which is evidently the oldest, the bird is placed with its head towards the sinister side of the shield, and the salmon is placed on its back. On the other seal, which is an amethyst, set in gold and finely cut, the arrangement is the reverse. The head of the bird is toward the dexter side, and the fish has

its back uppermost. On the third seal the arrangement is the same as the one last-mentioned, except that the arms are placed within



a garter, on which is the motto, "Let Glasgow Flourish," and on the circle outside are the words "Chamberlain's Office."

The design appearing on the fourth seal—the die by which the paper used by the Lord Provost and by the Chamberlain is impressed—is something quite fresh, differing altogether from any example we have hitherto met with. Instead of a copy of this unique design, I am enabled, by the courtesy of the Chamberlain, to give an impression



from the die itself.

The first innovation here introduced—as bold as it is original—is, that what, in its general arrangement, we have been accustomed to regard as the bearings of the Corporation—namely, the tree, bird, bell, and fish in combination—are expelled from the shield altogether, and made to do service *as a crest*; while St. Kentigern, who had been extruded from the City seal to make room for the

tree, now gets his revenge by ousting the tree and resuming his old place in the centre. This is the first and only instance of a crest of any kind being used as part of the armorial bearings of the City. There is no reason why Glasgow should not have a crest, as Edinburgh has, but certainly something different from this might be found. To this part of the armorial bearings, however, I shall revert afterwards.

Again, for the first time, *supporters* are introduced. Such a mark of distinction a City of the importance of Glasgow would also, in all probability, receive from the Lord Lyon if applied for, and the only objection to this part of the Chamberlain's seal is that at present we have no right to it. At no previous period has the Corporation used supporters, nor did the bishops or archbishops ever use them in connection with the arms of the see. Some of the early bishops did introduce the salmon in connection with their shields, but this was only along with their own paternal arms, and even then not as supporters, in the proper heraldic sense, but in most cases by placing the salmon beneath the shield, as in the case of the arms of Bishop Cameron, to which I have already referred. An exception to this occurs in the seal of the same prelate, which I have already described, where the shield is encircled, as it were, by two salmon; and the same, or a nearly similar arrangement, occurs in an interesting sculpture of his arms on a boss in the roof of Lauder's Crypt in the Cathedral. This example is further curious from the circumstance of the arms being borne on a lozenge—a form which in later heraldry is appropriate to



unmarried females only, and which in England had been introduced and so appropriated at a period earlier than the time of Bishop



Cameron. Even here, however, the two fishes can hardly be said to occupy the position of supporters in a heraldic sense. They are joined both above and below, and merely form an ornamental circle enclosing the lozenge on which the arms are represented. Cameron is the only one of the bishops who appears to have placed the two salmon at the sides of his shield, and in both of the instances where he thus uses them, I consider them to be introduced not as supporters but as emblems only; just as on the seal of Bishop Lindsay in 1326, of which a representation has been already given, the fish appears on the dexter side of the seal above one of the shields, and the bird on the sinister side above the other shield; and as in the shield of John Carrick, Chancellor of Glasgow in 1371,\* where the salmon erect with the ring in its mouth is placed on

\* Page 27.

one side and the branch, with the bird on it, on the other. In none of these instances are the fish, or bird, or branch, as the case may be, supporters in the present heraldic sense, nor were they intended as such. Nisbet, referring to similar examples, says that "these emblems "and devices were placed at the sides of the escutcheon by the owners "to show some mystical meaning, and so *through time became supporters.*"

The first example I have seen of a bishop's paternal arms accompanied by what have all the appearance of heraldic supporters, is on the seal of Bishop Laing in 1477, and here neither the



salmon nor any other of the emblems are used for that purpose. The salmon appears beside the bishop, while his paternal arms below are supported by two angels. Still even in this instance I do not regard the angels as "supporters" in the sense in which we now

employ that term. Menestrier, quoted by Nisbet, says that we often see "arms in churches supported by angels which are not marks of honour, but ornaments allowed by the clergy even to those who had no right to supporters; and many dignified prelates were in use to support their arms with angels." Nisbet tells us that Cardinal Beton did this, having "had his arms supported by two angels in Dalmatic habits, or, as some say, priestly ones, which are yet [1742] to be seen on his lodgings in Blackfriars' Wind." And Mr. Seton says that "on the corbels of Gothic architecture, shields of arms are frequently supported by angels, which, however, cannot generally be regarded as heraldic appendages, being merely supposed to indicate that the owners have contributed to the erection of the fabric." I have no doubt that the angels on this old seal of Bishop Laing had the same or a similar meaning, and were not intended to form part of the arms.

In other respects this is a very interesting seal. In the centre is St. Kentigern. On his right hand is a figure with a spear, perhaps St. Michael, and on the left St. Katherine crowned with the nimbus, and holding in her right hand the wheel. St. Katherine of Sienna was a nun of the order of St. Dominic, and was held in great veneration by the Dominicans or Blackfriars. She died in 1380, and was canonized by Pope Pius II. in the year 1461, only sixteen years before the date of her appearance on this seal of Bishop Laing. As might be expected, she was a favourite saint in Glasgow, where the Dominicans had a convent. An altar was dedicated to her in the Cathedral, and many of the old charters contain provisions for

its maintenance and sustentation, and for saying masses there for the souls of benefactors to the church. She was a strenuous defender of the temporal power of the popes, and now, when that power is in more need of support than it was in the fourteenth century, St. Katherine has received promotion—the pope, by a decree of the Congregation of Rites, having in the present year, 1866, conferred upon her the title of patron saint of Rome.

Another interesting example of the emblems being placed at the sides of the shield, but not as supporters, appears in a sculptured representation of the arms of Bishop Blackader (c. 1490) on a



buttress of the south wall of the southern transept of the Cathedral, where the initial letters of the bishop's name are placed at the sides of the shield, the bell being over the first letter, and the bird perched on the other. In a seal of Archbishop Beton, used in 1566, the initials of that prelate, I. B., also appear at the sides of his shield.

This placing of initials at the sides of the shield appears at first sight a very commonplace arrangement—in the simplicity of it, indeed almost indicative of modesty; yet it indicated a high amount of pride and assumption on the part of these princely old prelates, for we know it to have been a practice peculiar to sovereign princes. Nisbet, alluding to it, says:—"Sovereigns have been for a long time, "and are yet, in use to place at the sides of their shields of arms on "their coins the initial letters of their names, as our own kings of "the name of James had I. R. at the sides of their shields, Queen "Mary M. R., and for Charles C. R. The kings of France of the "name of Charles had K. at the sides of their shields, and the four "Henries had the letter H., and those of the name of Lewis the "letter L." I am very familiar with examples such as those referred to by Nisbet, but I have not hitherto seen the observation applied to these shields of the bishops. I have little doubt, however, that in the instance before us, Blackader, in adopting a practice which he knew to be appropriate to princes, was actuated by the highest priestly ambition, and in all probability it was assumed after his elevation to the rank of archbishop which he had so earnestly coveted.

But to return to the supporters on our Chamberlain's seal. I would only add, in regard to the supposed precedents to be found on the seals of the bishops, that whatever opinions may be entertained as to the heraldic signification to be attached to emblems or devices, such as angels or fishes, occurring in combination with these old shields, it is certain that when they do occur, it is only in connection with the paternal arms of the bishops, and never as

accompaniments to the arms of the see. And it is equally certain that in all the previous examples known to us, supporters never appear in connection with what profess to be the arms of the City—with one only exception. This occurs on a sculptured stone on the south face of the steeple of the old Tolbooth at the Cross, to



which I have already referred. What the history of this stone is I do not know. I am satisfied it has no official authority, and I can only conjecture that the design was a mere freak of fancy on the part of the sculptor—a proceeding of which the history of the City arms affords unfortunately too many examples. We have seen that in representations of the arms occurring before the end of the sixteenth century, and which possess a *quasi* official character, the bishop's head had been discarded from the shield, and the general form adopted which is now generally used—viz. the tree occupying the centre of the field in place of the head of the saint, and the bell, bird, and fish in subordinate places. This is the form in which the arms appear over the door of the Tron Church in 1592, where they were certainly placed by order of the magistrates. They appear in the same form

on the old grammar-school erected by the Corporation in 1601. Again we find the same arrangement in the example in the quadrangle of the College, erected about 1630 or 1631. Of the same date—viz. in 1631—we find the arms in a similar form on the bell made in that year for the Tron Church. In 1654 the same blazon appears on the sculptured stone at the mills at Partick, which belonged to the Corporation; and in the following century we find the same general arrangement on the church-tokens, made by order of the magistrates, and used in the City churches in 1725 and 1776. In that form too they continue—with variations, no doubt, but still preserving the same general features—in every subsequent example down to the present day. It is in the highest degree improbable, therefore, that on the steeple of the Tolbooth, which was built in 1626, the Corporation should have authorized the arms of the City to be represented in a form differing so entirely from all the other examples—from those which had gone before as well as from those which came after it. On not one of the previous examples, either on seals or sculptures, had the arms been represented with supporters, such as appear in this case; and in none of them, not even on those which are found before the bishop's head had been discarded, is an arrangement found such as appears on this stone. On the old seal of the city the salmon is represented in an upright position, between the head of the bishop and the bell, and the bird is placed, not on the bell, as on this stone, but on the branch on the dexter side of the shield; and there is no trace in any of the other examples of the absurd addition of what appears to be a serpent entwined round

the stem of the tree, which for the first time is here introduced. I may add that the fish under the saint's head is not St. Kentigern's salmon, for it has no ring in its mouth.

To the kindness of Mr. Carrick, the Master of Works, I am indebted for a metal cast, which is evidently a copy of this sculpture, with variations. Mr. Carrick writes me that "in the year 1850 the bell of the Bridgegate steeple, which belongs to the Corporation, required repair, and the tradesmen employed had occasion to go into a cellar in the basement of the steeple, and in this cellar, among rubbish, they found a metal cast of the City arms. From this, which was of bronze, I got a mould made, and the casting now sent you is one of two dozen which was cast from the mould in question." The only difference between this cast and the stone in the steeple is, that in the cast the serpent round the tree is more fully developed, the bell is of a more modern form, and above and below the shield are labels bearing the motto "Let Glasgow flourish by the Preaching of the Word." The whole execution, as well as the form of the letters, satisfy me that it is of recent date, though for what purpose it was made, unless to show the skill of a not very ingenious ironfounder, I cannot conjecture. I would not have considered either the stone on the steeple or the cast worthy of notice at all but for the fact that, so far as regards the bearings on the shield, and the two salmon appearing as supporters, it is from them apparently—strange as it may appear—and from them alone, that the form of the arms now used by the Lord Provost, and in the Chamberlain's office, and also on the medals now worn by the



magistrates, have been copied. That part of the modern seal which consists of the conversion into a crest of the entire arms, as previously borne, and as they continue to be borne at this moment on our common seal, is entirely original. It is the shield and crest only, however, which are objectionable. To the adoption of supporters, if legalized by the authority of the Lord Lyon, there could be no possible objection.

On all paper used in the Chamberlain's office, and on all official notices, invitations, and other communications emanating from the



Lord Provost, this extraordinary shield and crest appear as the arms of the city. In the same form, too, with a variation as regards the motto, they appear on the gold medals which are at present worn

officially by the Lord Provost and the other magistrates, from one of which the drawing on page 160 has been made. These medals were manufactured in 1848; but the paper stamp used by the Lord Provost and in the Chamberlain's office only came into use within the last five years. From the same die also as that used for the gold medals are struck the impressions of the City arms which are placed on all the gold boxes in which is inclosed the freedom of the City when it is presented to eminent strangers. It is not pleasant to think that on the boxes which have been thus presented to such men as Lord Macaulay, and Lord Clyde, and Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Gladstone, the arms of the City of Glasgow are represented in the form which I have been just describing.



When these gold medals were made, those previously worn by the magistrates were given up to be melted, but one of them—that worn by the Lord Provost—was preserved by Sir James Campbell,

in whose possession it now is, and who has kindly allowed me to get made from it the drawing on page 161. In the general design and arrangement, the arms on this medal are not very far from what they ought to be. The bird is in the right position. The bell is on the proper side, and the fish is represented, as it should be, on its back, and with its head towards the dexter side of the shield. The bell, of course, should be detached, and the field should be argent, while the tree should be represented more in heraldic form. But, as a whole, it is correctness itself, compared with the monstrous production for which it has been displaced.

I have now noticed the principal varieties in the blazon of the City arms, but the list is by no means exhausted. There is, for example, the office seal of the Corporation in their capacity as commissioners of the Glasgow Water-works. On this seal there is represented on a shield in heraldic form, a female figure resting on a vase, or fountain, from which water is flowing. She holds in her hand an anchor, and behind is the smoking stalk of a factory. Above this shield the arms of the city, viz. the tree, bird, fish, and bell, appear *as a crest*—the same as on the Chamberlain's seal. Again, there is the seal used by the Trustees of the Clyde Navigation, where the tree and its accompanying devices are represented *resting on an anchor*. And there are others which it would be waste of time to notice.

There is only one more which I would specially mention, because the history of it is characteristic and instructive. I allude to the seal of the Trades' House. It appears that in the early part of

the present century—perhaps about the year 1812 or 1814—on the occasion of the Trades' House presenting a petition to the House of Commons, it was objected in the house that the petition did not bear the seal of the Corporation. The Trades' House had never had a seal, or any armorial bearings, but this was felt to be a very small difficulty. A seal was ordered to be made, and a seal was extemporized, and executed accordingly, with full armorial insignia—shield, crest, and motto—without the aid of the Lord Lyon, and without asking his permission. The purpose was served, and the seal has continued in use to the present day. The shield represents the city arms, in the form in which they appear on one of the small seals used in the Chamberlain's office, of which I have already given a drawing. Above the shield is a crest, representing a bundle of arrows tied together, above which is inscribed, "Union is strength," and below, on a label, "The Trades House



"of Glasgow." In manufacturing this coat of arms at their own hand, and according to their own fancy, the Trades' House can lay no claim to originality. They only followed the practice which has generally prevailed in the city for the last five hundred years, in every instance where a new seal fell to be made, or the arms to be sculptured on stone or metal.

From these conflicting examples of the arms of the City, on seal and sculpture, we naturally turn to the books, to ascertain whether

anything authentic exists in the shape of verbal blazon, and before quoting heraldic authorities, I shall shortly notice what is said on the subject by our local historians.

The short and incomplete blazon given by M'Ure I have already quoted, and the next historian of the City to whom we naturally turn for information on all local matters is Dr. Clelland. In his introduction to the *Rise and Progress of the City*, published in 1820, he says:—"My present official position, aided by the "opportunities which I had while going the round of civic office, "has greatly lessened the toil of research, which, to a literary "person without these advantages, would have been irksome." Dr. Clelland ought, therefore, to be a good authority. Here is what he says of the City arms in his *Annals*, published in 1816:—"The "armorial bearing of the City is, on a field parti p. fess argent and "gules, an oak-tree surmounted with a bird in chief, a salmon with "a gold stoned ring in its mouth in base, and on a branch on the "sinister side a bell *langued* or all proper. The motto 'Let "'Glasgow Flourish.' In former times 'through the Preaching of "'the Word' was added to the motto. Prior to the Reformation, *St. "Kentigern mitred appeared on the dexter side of the shield*, which "*had then two salmons for supporters.*" This is simply nonsense; and by the time he came to publish his third work, the *Rise and Progress*, three years afterwards, the doctor appears to have had some misgivings himself on the subject. In that work he says:—"It appears from a recent and minute investigation by persons "conversant with heraldry, that there is some doubt as to what

“should be considered the legitimate arms of the City. Mr. Edmonson, having been furnished by the late Mr. Cumming, keeper of the heraldry records of Scotland, with a list of *the arms of Glasgow, and such of the other royal burghs as are registered*, inserted the bearing of Glasgow in his *Heraldry*, vol. i., of which the following is an extract:—‘Glasgow (Royal burgh of), argent a “tree growing out of a mount in base, surmounted by a salmon in “fess all proper, in his mouth a ring or, on the dexter side a bell, “pendent to the tree of the second—the motto Let Glasgow “‘Flourish.’ The above is somewhat different from Nisbet’s description, where the bird is introduced, and the bell put on the “sinister side, but is the same as that described by him in his “*Essay on Armories*, as the arms of the see.”

The quotation from Edmonson’s work is correct, and the omission of the bird from his blazon shows how little he is to be relied on as an authority; but there seems to be no foundation for the story of Mr. Cumming, the keeper of the Lyon records, having furnished Edmonson with that blazon. The title given by Edmonson to his list of the armorial bearings of the Scottish burghs, is as follows:—“The royal burghs in Scotland, ranked according to their precedence in the rolls of Parliament, together with the blazons of such of “them as are matriculated in the registers of the Lyon office.” But for a period long before Edmonson wrote, the records of the Lyon office are complete, and there the arms of Glasgow are not mentioned at all. On the contrary, there is a blank at the place where they ought to appear, and upon inquiry at that office, Mr. Stodart,

the depute clerk, writes me:—"I think it most unlikely that Mr. Cumming had anything to do with Edmonson's compilation. He "gives the arms of many burghs besides the City of Glasgow which "do not appear in the Lyon register, and in several cases the blazon, "as printed by Edmonson, differs from the entry here."

I must not leave Dr. Clelland, without giving his account of the origin of the salmon on the City shield. It is much too good to be omitted. After describing the other devices, he says (quoting apparently Mr. Monteith):—"That religion might not absorb the "whole insignia of the town, the trade, which at that time was "confined to fishing and curing salmon, came in for its share, and "*this circumstance gave rise to the idea of giving the salmon a place "in the arms of the City.*" What a fall from the beautiful Queen of Cadzow, to a salmon curer at the Broomielaw!

This may suffice for a specimen of what is found in the local histories. In several of these works, blazons of the arms are given more or less correct, but it is unnecessary to notice them, as they do not possess a shadow of authority. One quotation, however, regarding the history of the motto I cannot resist giving. In a small volume published in 1826, called *Glasgow Delineated*, the author informs us that "St. Mungo or St. Kentigern died in 600, uttering "with his last breath, this emphatic and paternal benediction, 'Let "'Glasgow Flourish!'" This is quite an appropriate pendant to Dr. Clelland's salmon.

Turning to the books of heraldry, there is little, as we have seen, to be had in Edmonson. In a respectable compilation, Robson's

*Heraldry*, published in 1830—a work dedicated to Sir Walter Scott, the arms of our City are blazoned the same as in Edmonson, the bird not being mentioned at all. The only other work is that of Nisbet, and it is the best authority we possess on matters relating to Scottish Heraldry. With occasional errors, it contains much valuable information to be had nowhere else, and it exhibits evidence of considerable research and care in its compilation. In this work—the *System of Heraldry*, published at Edinburgh in 1722—Nisbet says:—"The town of Glasgow carries argent, an oak-tree "growing out of a mount in base, with a bird standing on the top "thereof, and a bell hanging on a branch on the sinister side, and "in base a salmon fish with a ring in its mouth, all proper."

This answers in every respect to the blazon of the arms as exhibited on the bell of the Tron Church, with the exception that in the latter the bell is on the dexter side and is not attached to the tree; and it is in accordance with the arms as appearing on the seal of Archbishop Cairncross, with the single exception that in the latter the mount from which the tree is growing is not shown below the salmon, and that the bell (as it ought to be) is detached. Nisbet's blazon does not mention the position of the fish. He evidently meant it, however, to be represented with its back downwards, because in his earlier work the *Essay on Armories*, where the arms of Archbishop Cairncross are described, there is a plate containing a representation of these arms, and to which reference is made in the text, where the salmon is shown in the reversed position.



That in one form or other the tree, bird, bell, and fish should be adopted, or rather continued on the shield, and that we should discard the recent innovation of the bishop's head in the centre and the emblems disposed around it in the manner I have indicated, there cannot, I venture to think, be any difference of opinion. For this last arrangement, still less for the extraordinary crest with which it is accompanied, there is no authority and no precedent. The other form—that in which the tree occupies the centre of the field in combination with the other emblems or devices—is the form in which the bearings first appeared in a heraldic form (for the earlier forms were not heraldic), and it has continued in use ever since. We find it on buildings erected by the Corporation from 1592 downwards. It appears on the Tron Church bell, made by order of the magistrates in 1631. It is found on the seal adopted by the community when the old seal was broken up in 1647; and when again a new seal was made in 1789 the same general arrangement was adhered to. On the money coined in Glasgow in 1791; on the smaller seals used in the Town Clerk's office subsequent to that date; on the official seals used till lately in the Chamberlain's department; on the medals worn by the magistrates down to 1848; on burgess tickets ancient and modern; in our local histories, and in heraldic works, we find the arms represented in this form, and in this only. No doubt there are many variations—many absurdities—many violations of heraldic rule in the mode in which the bearings are disposed, but still the general form and effect is preserved.

What remains therefore is to choose among these varieties of

arrangement—to ascertain the proper tincture of the shield, and to settle the form and order in which the charges ought to be blazoned.

The conclusion at which I have arrived, after a very careful consideration of all the examples and authorities, is, that the arms of the City, so far as the shield is concerned, ought to be depicted according to the blazon given by Nisbet, with the single correction that the bell ought to be represented detached from the tree, and with the addition—being what Nisbet, as I have shown, intended, though he did not express it in his text—that the salmon is on its back.

To begin with the field, it ought unquestionably to be argent. The division per fess is comparatively a recent innovation, and with the exception of the present common seal, made so late as 1789, it is found in no example which is entitled to any consideration. It was introduced without authority, and it is ignored in the heraldic works which give a blazon of the arms.

In regard to the tree, all the examples subsequent to the old seal (which was not heraldic) agree in assigning to it the principal place on the shield, which was previously occupied by the head of St. Kentigern. What kind of tree it is cannot be told from any of the seals or sculptures. While it was yet a branch one of the old legends describes it as a hazel. In the story as given in the Breviary of Aberdeen it is not specified. Now that it has become a full-grown tree, Nisbet and other authorities call it an oak. This, says old Guillim in his great work on heraldry, “is of the strongest sort of trees, and therefore may best challenge the first place”—and there is no reason why we should not adopt it.

Being a tree it ought certainly to be depicted as Nisbet blazons it, and as it appears on the Tron Church bell and in most of the later representations, that is, growing out of a mount in base, and it should be drawn very much in the conventional form in which it appears on that bell. To represent it eradicated, as on the common seal of 1647, is without authority, as it is, in the circumstances, unmeaning; and it is equally objectionable to represent it issuing from the salmon, as in some of the early sculptures. It is so represented, no doubt, in the engraving of the seal of Archbishop Cairncross,\* but it is worthy of notice that Nisbet, in describing a seal of this same prelate, blazons it "Argent a tree *growing out of a mount vert* and a salmon lying fess ways *thwart the trunk of the tree;*" and in the engraving to which I have already referred, contained in the *Essay on Armories*, the "mount vert" is distinctly shown beneath the salmon. At all events this is the proper mode of representing it; and sanctioned as it has been by such long use, it is the form in which it ought to appear in our arms.

As regards the salmon all the examples which have any claim to be considered authoritative represent it on its back—in every case, that is, where it appears horizontal or fess-ways. In the ancient seals, as we have seen, it is represented *hauriant*, or upright, but in the earliest example in which it appears in fess it is represented with its back downwards, and it continues to be so represented in almost all the subsequent seals and sculptures. The common seal of 1647 was the first instance in which it was represented with its back uppermost, but this was exceptional; and

\* Page 55.

the few other examples of recent date where it is so represented are not such as are entitled to any weight.

The ring, which in all the examples (except in the spurious instance on the Cross steeple) appears in the salmon's mouth, should be gold, as blazoned by Edmonson; and it ought to be a gemmed, or rather a signet ring, in accordance with all the best examples, from the first time when it appears on the seal of Bishop Wyschart, six hundred years ago, to the present time.

As to the bird, it is only necessary to repeat that it is a robin, and that it is to be placed on the top of the tree, in the centre, and with its head towards the dexter side of the shield.

As regards the bell—representing as it does a real bell, made unquestionably before the tenth or eleventh century, however more ancient it may be—it should bear the square form of the ancient ecclesiastical bells, and perhaps no better could be adopted than that in which it appears on the seal of the Chapter of Glasgow “for Causes” which was in use in 1488.\* But it ought not to be langued *or*, as Dr. Clelland, following Edmonson, makes it. The new “tong to Sanct Mungowis bell” which the Council provided in 1578 was no doubt a plain iron or bronze one, like its predecessor, and certainly the “two shillings” which was expended for that purpose would hardly have provided a gold one.

The position of the bell ought to be the sinister side of the shield. It is so placed on the first of the ancient seals on which it appears—that of the Chapter of Glasgow in 1321. It appears on the same side on the seal for Causes in 1488. It maintained the same

\* Page 35.

position on the common seals of the burgh from 1325 to 1789—a period of upwards of four hundred and sixty years. On the seal of Archbishop Cairncross, in 1684, it is also on the sinister side; in many of the more recent examples it occupies the same position, and that is the place assigned to it by Nisbet. Against these precedents and that authority the modern examples, which represent the bell on the dexter side of the shield, can have no weight. And it ought certainly to be separate from the tree. It is so represented in all the examples down to our present common seal of 1789—both on seals and in sculptures. In its history it had no connection whatever with the tree, and there is no heraldic reason why it should be pendant from it, but the reverse.

So much for the shield. As to supporters and a crest, I have no reason to doubt that the Lord Lyon will grant both, if applied for. For supporters nothing could be more appropriate than the two salmon; for although not used in that character by the early bishops, they occupied an analogous place on the seals of some of them, and in that position they appear in the sculpture of the arms of Bishop Cameron in the Cathedral. It forms also a relevant element of consideration that, although adopted without authority, they are now actually in use on the Lord Provost's and Chamberlain's seals, and on the medals worn by the magistrates.

In regard to a crest, there will, I think, be no difference of opinion that it ought to be the head of St. Kentigern. For upwards of three hundred and seventy years this formed the principal device on the old seals of the community, and for that reason, and also because it is so closely associated with the history of the city, it were

a pity not to retain it. This can properly now be done only by using it as a crest, and it would complete the armorial insignia of the city in a manner the most appropriate and least open to objection.

The form in which the head should be represented must be so far a matter of taste. It may be shown either in front or in profile. The annexed engraving is a very good example of the latter, and in a form well adapted for a crest, only turning the head the opposite way. It is the counter-seal of Bishop Walter, who was consecrated to the see in 1208. There was certainly no uniform practice followed in the manner of representing the saint. On the Corporation seal of 1325 the head appears in full front, but it is quite probable that it was in profile on the two which preceded it, or on one of them. On referring back to the seals of the early bishops of which I have given examples, it will be seen that it appears sometimes the one way, and sometimes the other. The above counter-seal of Bishop Walter is a good example of the profile; I subjoin one equally good of the figure in front. It is the counter-seal used by the Chapter of Glasgow in 1280, and it is particularly interesting as the only one I have met with which bears on the face of it whose the head is—the name *SANCTVS KENTEGNVS* appearing on scrolls at the sides of the figure. On the outer circle are the words *KENTEGERNE TVOS BENEDIC PATER ALME MINISTROS*. One or other of these examples is preferable to the



head on the old common seal, which was more adapted for the centre of a seal than for a crest. They are besides more characteristic. In both the mitre and crozier are introduced, and in each the right hand



of the saint is raised in the characteristic act of benediction—the thumb and first two fingers being displayed, that being the conventional mode of expressing the Trinity. Of the two, the one with the face in front is perhaps to be preferred—either copying the above seal of the Chapter, or, which might be better still, adopting the head as it appears on the earliest seal of the bishopric which we possess—that of Joceline in 1197. None of these in profile could be taken without transposition, as in all of them the head is turned towards the sinister side of the shield—a position inconsistent with heraldic propriety.

It remains only to notice the motto. Had we now to adopt one for the first time, something better than that at present in use might certainly be chosen; but it has been too long in use to change it now, and, for reasons already stated, it would be alike objectionable either to restore it to its original unwieldy dimensions, or to adopt the partial abridgment appearing on some of the later examples. The present form, besides, has been sanctioned by more than prescriptive usage. It has been so borne on our present common seal for nearly eighty years, and on sculptured stones and public buildings it has been used for more than twice that period.

As regards the form of the shield, this is *ad libitum*; but as there are several good forms of simple design which were in use in the earlier and purer times of heraldry, so there are many later forms, vulgar in conception and debased in style, which we ought to avoid. Of the latter no more appropriate example could be adduced than that which appears on the medals now worn by the magistrates. Of the former none is better or purer, or more in accordance with the best examples, than that which has acquired the name of the "heater" shape from its resemblance to a smoothing-iron, and this or some other of the ancient forms ought to be adopted and adhered to.

I have thus brought to a close these imperfect notes on the interesting and curious, if not practically useful, subject of this inquiry. I have only to add, as the result, that if the conclusions at which I have arrived shall be adopted, the blazon of the arms of the City will be as follows:—

Argent, on a mount in base vert, an oak-tree proper, the stem at



the base thereof surmounted by a salmon on its back, also proper, with a signet ring in its mouth, or; on the top of the tree a red-breast, and in the sinister fess point an ancient hand-bell, both also proper. For supporters two salmon proper, each holding in its mouth a signet ring, or. For crest the half-length figure of Saint Kentigern, affronté, vested and mitred, his right hand raised in the act of benediction, and having in his left hand a crozier, all proper. And for motto, "Let Glasgow flourish."



## *A P P E N D I X.*

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### *I.*

#### *MINUTES OF THE MAGISTRATES AND TOWN COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF GLASGOW.*

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*At Glasgow, the third day of October, Eighteen  
hundred and sixty-six years.*

Convened the LORD PROVOST and MAGISTRATES.

The Lord Provost stated that several practical difficulties had occurred in regard to the City Arms, in consequence of no authentic Arms for the City having been granted and authorized by the Lord Lyon, and that the matter had been minutely investigated by Mr. Andrew Macgeorge, Writer, who took a great interest in such matters; and the Magistrates remit to the Lord Provost, Mr. Monro, and Mr. Macgeorge to get the proper Arms of the City recorded, published, and authorized in due form.

*At Glasgow, the fourth day of October, Eighteen hundred and sixty-six years.*

Convened the LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, and TOWN COUNCIL.

Read minute of Magistrates of the third current in regard to the City Arms: approved.

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*At Glasgow, the fourth day of October, Eighteen hundred and sixty-six years.*

Met the LORD PROVOST, MR. MONRO, and Mr. MACGEORGE, in terms of remit to them by the Lord Provost and Magistrates.

The report as to the Armorial Insignia of the City prepared by Mr. Macgeorge at the request of the Lord Provost and the Town Clerks was considered.

The report, after tracing the connection between the emblems or devices appearing on the ancient seals of the bishopric, and those represented on the various seals used by the Corporation from the year twelve hundred and sixty-eight to the present time, and describing every known example of the Arms borne by the City, and the innovations which, through error, have occurred in them from time to time; and after fully considering the question of supporters and a crest, concludes as follows:—

“I have only to add, as the result, that if the conclusions at which I have arrived shall be adopted, the blazon of the Arms

“ of the City will be as follows:—Argent, on a mount in base vert  
“ an oak tree proper, the stem at the base thereof surmounted by a  
“ salmon on its back also proper, with a signet ring in its mouth, or;  
“ on the top of the tree a red-breast, and in the sinister fess point  
“ an ancient hand-bell, both also proper. For supporters two salmon  
“ proper, each holding in its mouth a signet ring, or; for crest, the  
“ half-length figure of St. Kentigern affronté, vested and mitred, his  
“ right hand raised in the act of benediction, and having in his left  
“ hand a crozier, all proper; and for motto, ‘Let Glasgow Flourish.’”

The Lord Provost and Mr. Monro agreed with Mr. Macgeorge in the conclusions arrived at, and Mr. Macgeorge was authorized to present an application to the Lord Lyon, on behalf of the City, for his official confirmation of the arms, and for his authority to bear supporters, and a crest, all according to the blazon proposed in the report.

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*At Glasgow, the first day of November, Eighteen  
hundred and sixty-six years.*

Convened the HONOURABLE THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES,  
and TOWN COUNCIL of the City of Glasgow.

There was read a minute of meeting of the Lord Provost, Mr. Monro, and Mr. Macgeorge, regarding the City Arms, and the Lord Provost reported that Arms with Supporters and a Crest, as detailed in the minute, had been now officially fixed by the Lord Lyon. His Lordship explained the great labour Mr. Macgeorge had undertaken in this matter, and proposed that coloured copies of the Blazon of the

Arms should be obtained, which was agreed to. His Lordship then laid on the table a copy of Mr. Macgeorge's Book on the City Arms, beautifully printed and illustrated, and handsomely bound, as a Gift to the City.

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*At Glasgow, the fifteenth day of November, Eighteen hundred and sixty-six years.*

Convened the HONOURABLE THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES,  
and TOWN COUNCIL.

Read letter from Andrew Macgeorge, Esq., sending the Patent and Blazon of the City Arms, as granted by the Lord Lyon, and on the motion of the Lord Provost it was ordered to be framed and hung up in the Council Chambers.

On the motion of Mr. Watson the Town Council unanimously record their hearty thanks to the late Lord Provost, JOHN BLACKIE, junior, Esquire, for his handsome Gift of a copy of Mr. Macgeorge's work on the Arms of the City, which has been printed and illustrated entirely at Mr. Blackie's expense; and the Town Council also unanimously record their thanks to ANDREW MACGEORGE, Esquire, for the pains he has taken and the labour he has bestowed in the preparation thereof.

*Extracted from the Minutes by*

ALEXANDER MONRO,  
TOWN-CLERK.

II.

*THE PATENT GRANTED BY THE  
LORD LYON.*

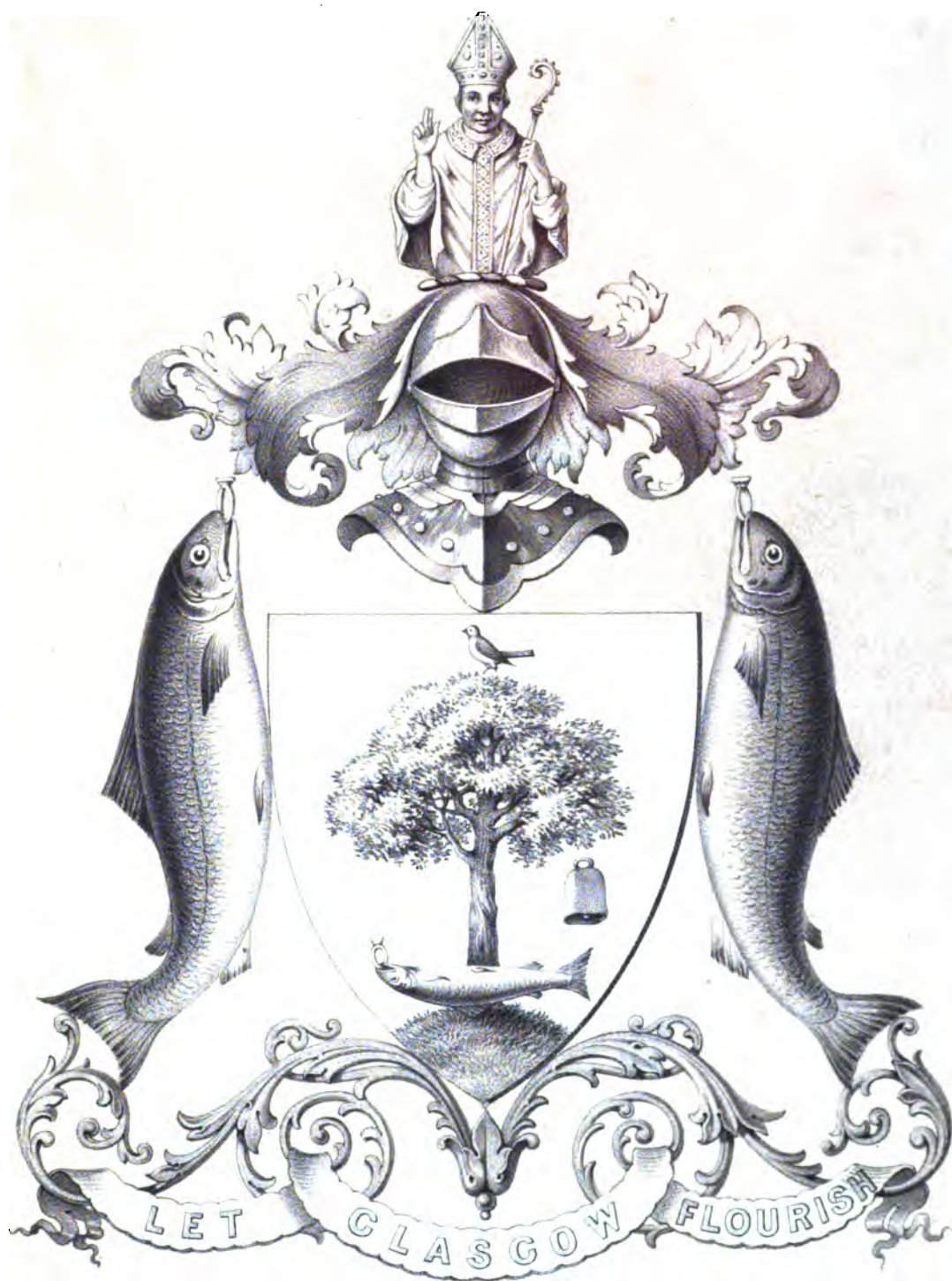
**To All and Sundry** whom these presents do or may concern, We, GEORGE BURNETT, Esquire, Advocate, Lyon King of Arms, send Greeting: Whereas the LORD PROVOST AND MAGISTRATES OF THE CITY OF GLASGOW have, by Petition of date the Fifth October current, Represented unto Us, that certain Arms therein described have been for a long period carried by the City of Glasgow, but that their predecessors in office had not obtained the sanction of the Lyon Court for bearing the said Arms, in terms of the Act 1672, c. 21; and have Prayed that we would Ratify, Maintain, and Confirm to the Petitioners and their successors in office, and to the City of Glasgow, the said Armorial Ensigns, with the addition of Supporters and Crest; KNOW YE THEREFORE that we have devised, and do by these presents Assign, Ratify, Maintain, and Confirm to the said Lord Provost and Magistrates, and to their successors in office, and to the said City of Glasgow, the following Ensigns Armorial, as depicted upon the margin hereof, and Matriculated of even date with these presents in Our Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland, viz. ARGENT, ON A MOUNT IN BASE VERT AN

OAK TREE PROPER, THE STEM AT THE BASE THEREOF SURMOUNTED BY A SALMON ON ITS BACK ALSO PROPER, WITH A SIGNET RING IN ITS MOUTH, OR; ON THE TOP OF THE TREE A RED-BREAST, AND IN THE SINISTER FESS POINT AN ANCIENT HAND BELL, BOTH ALSO PROPER; above the Shield is placed a suitable Helmet, with a Mantling Gules doubled Argent, and, issuing out of a Wreath of the proper Liveries, is set for Crest THE HALF-LENGTH FIGURE OF ST. KENTIGERN AFFRONTÉ, VESTED AND MITRED, HIS RIGHT HAND RAISED IN THE ACT OF BENEDICTION, AND HAVING IN HIS LEFT HAND A CROZIER, ALL PROPER; in a compartment below the Shield are placed for Supporters TWO SALMON PROPER, EACH HOLDING IN ITS MOUTH A SIGNET RING, OR; and in an Escrol entwined with the compartment this Motto, "LET GLASGOW FLOURISH." In Testimony whereof, these presents are subscribed by Us, and the Seal of Our Office is appended hereunto, at Edinburgh, the twenty-fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-six.

GEORGE BURNETT,

LYON.

*The End.*







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*The End.*

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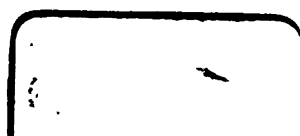












THE ARMORIAL INSIGNIA OF



THE CITY OF GLASGOW.